TRAGEDY OF JINNAH

KAILASH CHANDRA

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BY

KAILASH CHANDRA

FOREWORD BY

MISS JETHI T. SIPAHIMALANI

Deputy Speaker Sind Assembly

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Dedicated to Nationalist India

FOREWORD

I have had a glance at Mr. Kailash's *Tragedy of Jinnah*. The book appears to me to be a comprehensive history of the Communal Problem—the most difficult and most baffling, that we have to solve—and the various attempts that have been made from time to time to tackle it.

The labour that Mr. Kailash has bestowed on the book is praiseworthy and I have no doubt that the book will be of immense use to students of public affairs in our country.

The author's criticism at certain places is rather strong and I wish he had rather left it out.

KARACHI :
14th June, 1941. JETHI T. SIPAHIMALANI

PREFACE

The so-called Indian Communal Problem has become a nuisance in Indian politics. It comes handy to the British Raj when awkwardly facing the demand of Indian freedom. It has given birth to selfish and fanatic demagogues who have played havoc in the Indian toy-shop. It has let loose a feeling of fear, mutual hatred, disgust and fatalism. There prevails an atmosphere of suspense, suspicion and hostility in India.

It is sought to be made out that the problem is the outcome of capricious intentions of one community to sweep up the legitimate rights and interests of others. The British Raj are always at pains to show that India's communal troubles are of her own making. So long as the communal problem is not solved to the satisfaction of *all concerned*, British Raj will have no truck with Indian aspirations. They by their *close association with all classes* of Indians have got an obligation towards them, which the British Raj would fail to discharge, if they allow India to be free, without making *adequate* arrangements for the welfare of their age-long friends! So India's progress hangs in the balance!

It becomes imperative, therefore, that an attempt be made to study the problem from its historical aspect. Much of the problem would be found to be a purely manufactured stuff, and the rest of it a myth! Even if an insignificant fraction of it is a reality, it is the result of individual bungling and individual super-sensitiveness.

Certainly it is no credit to us to allow the Indian stalemate to grow because of the so-called communal problem. It would be equally true on the other hand, that the problem is neither of our making nor entirely of our un-doing. Our communal problem is a feather in our masters' cap, and we cannot pluck it with impunity.

Our masters have thought it wise to favour one or the other community in India as the exigencies of the situation demanded. As early as 1821 a British official wrote in *The Asiatic Journal* :—

> "Divide *et impera* should be the motto of our Indian administration, whether political, civil or military."

Lt. Col. John Coke, Commandant at Moradabad, at the time of Indian Mutiny wrote :—

> "Our endeavours should be to *uphold in full force the* (for us fortunate) *separation which exists* between the different religions and races, *not to endeavour to amalgamate them*. Divide *et impera* should be the principle of Indian Government."

Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, in a

minute dated May 14, 1859 wrote :—

> " Divide *et impera* was the old Roman motto and it should be ours."

Sir John Stratchey, an important British Indian Civilian, said :—

> " The existence side by side, of hostile creeds among Indian people is *one of the strong points in our political position in India.*"

The balance of favouritism swung in favour of the Hindus first. Lord Ellenborough, Governor-General of India was not quite satisfied with the attitude of the Indian Muslims in days of the First Kabul Expedition, and therefore was anxious to secure the enthusiastic support of the Hindus. In a letter dated October 4, 1842, written to Duke of Wellington, he expressed a keen desire to secure the active support of the Hindus, who, he felt, were more faithful than the Muslims.

Again Lord Ellenborough wrote on 18th January, 1843 :—

> " I cannot close my eyes to the belief, that the race (Muslims) is fundamentally hostile to us and, therefore, *our true policy is to conciliate the Hindus.*"

The Hindu having drunk at the spring of his masters, thought that imitation was the surest flattery, and began to demand Home Rule and other political rights, which his masters enjoyed at home

At once there was a swing to the left—towards Muslims.

Sir Bampfylde Fuller, Governor of East Bengal, declared in an address that the Government of India had two wives, Hindu and Muslim, of which the Muslim was the "favourite wife."

Lord Oliver, Secretary of State for India, very frankly admitted that the "predominant bias in British officialdom in favour of the Muslim community was partly on the ground of closer sympathy, *but more largely as a make-weight against Hindu nationalism.*"

It is said in certain quarters that race hatred and communalism are not purely of British origin, these existed before the British arrived on the scene. What does Sir John Maynard, retired Senior Member of the Executive Council of the Punjab say about it?

> "It is, of course, true that British authority could not have established, could not now maintain itself, but for a fissiparous tendency of which the Hindu-Muslim antagonism is one manifestation. It is also true that the mass rivalry of the two communities began under British rule. Persecuting rulers made their appearance from time to time in the pre-British era, levying tribute on unbelievers or punishing with fanatical zeal the slaying of kine. But the Hindu and Muslim masses before they had eaten of the tree of knowledge and become religion-conscious *worshipped peacefully side by side at the same shrines.*"

The present book is just an attempt at an historical survey of the problem and its analysis as it stands to-day. In the later portion of the book, the present leadership of the Muslim League comes in for a good deal of criticism. I wish I could avoid it.

I hope the reader shall find the book useful. Any suggestions for improvement for the second edition shall be gratefully received.

I have liberally drawn on the works of many writers for the production of this book. My heart felt thanks to them.

I am grateful to my friends, A. N. Sharma and Shadi Lal Malhotra for the kind help rendered by them in writing this book.

My thanks are also due to my friends Shri Jagannath ji, Comrade Ram Krishan, Mr. Arjan Das, Mr. Harnam Das for their kind help, which I very much appreciate.

I have also to thank Messrs. K. R. Sondhi and F. C. Kapur of the Allied Press for their kind co-operation.

I thank all of them once again.

JHANG (PUNJAB): KAILASH CHANDRA
June 18, 1941.

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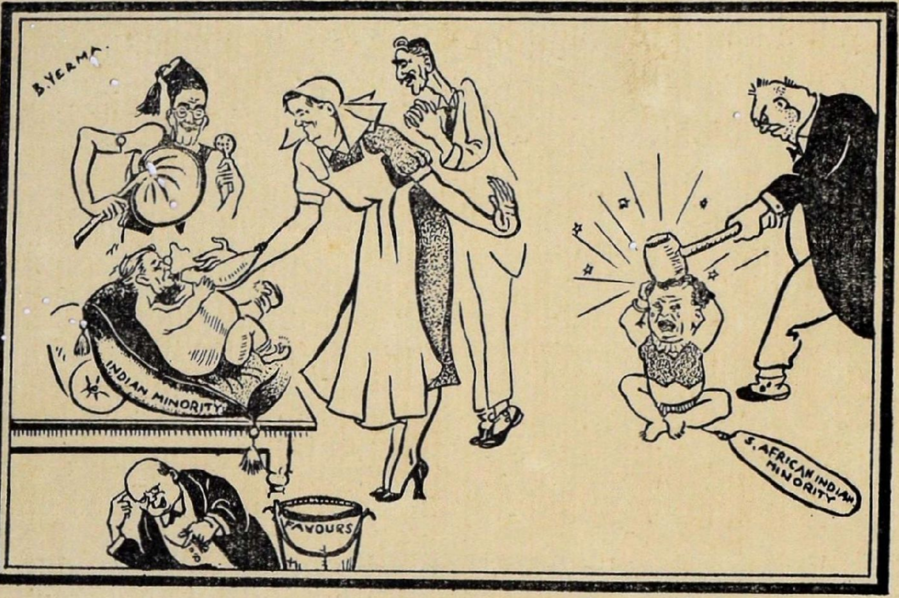
TENDER SOLICITUDE



Courtesy *The Tribune Lahore.*

CHAPTER I

"Counterpoise" to Congress Aims

THE Indian National Congress born in 1885 had become a fairly restive child by the beginning of the twentieth century. The British Government in India had thought that the Congress would continue to remain a steam-letting organisation standing between the Government and the people, as an intermediary or, still better, as an informer to the British Government in India, of the winds and currents of Indian public opinion, which at that time meant the opinion of the few educated persons in the country. The British Government in India had perhaps realised, that one of the causes of the so-called Indian Mutiny of 1857 (also called India's first War of Independence by Nationalist India), was the absolute apathy of the British bureaucrat towards the Indians, their views and aspirations. And it was right. The birth of the Indian National Congress was brought about with this object. The Viceroy of India at that time was expected to preside at the inauguration of the first session of the Congress at Bombay, but due to some more important engagement he could not do so and his place was taken up by the Governor of the presidency of Bombay.

For a few next years the British Government in India allowed (or perhaps directed) its officials and servants to keep in touch with the Congress. The intelligent leaders of public opinion soon took the winds out of the sails of the British Raj, and they made Congress the forum from which demands of the vast mass of Indian humanity could be echoed and re-echoed.

The British Government began to feel uneasy in its shoes. When the hope of reclamation of the Congress was completely shattered, the Government prohibited its servants to participate in and attend the meetings of the Congress. A few years after this, attitude of the Government grew definitely hostile to the Congress, which was growing more and more popular, powerful and clamorous for the rights of Indians.

King George V, as Prince of Wales, made a tour of India in the winter of 1905-06 and returned to his country in the spring of 1906. Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India, wrote a letter to Lord Minto, the then Viceroy of India :—

> "Yesterday I had a long conversation with the Prince of Wales in which he gave me an immensely interesting account of his impressions in India. His key word is that we should get on better if our administrators showed wider sympathy......He talked of the National Congress rapidly becoming a great power. My

own impression, formed long ago and confirmed since I came to this office, is that it will mainly depend upon ourselves whether the Congress is a power for good or evil. There it is whether we like it or not." [1]

This letter is dated 11th May, 1906. To this Lord Minto replied on May 18th, 1906:—

"As to the Congress........there is much that is absolutely disloyal in the movement and that there is danger for the future I have no doubt. You see extracts from the vernacular press the great bulk of the tone of it can only be termed disloyal.........I have been thinking a good deal lately of a *possible counterpoise to Congress aims.* I think we may find a solution in the council of Princes or in an elaboration of that idea, a Privy Council not only of native Rulers but of a few other big men to meet say once a year for a week or a fortnight at Delhi for instance. Subjects for discussion and procedure would have to be very carefully thought out, but we should get different ideas from those of the Congress, emanating from men already possessing great interest in the good Government of India.........I cannot say how much I am with you as to 'sympathy'........But with all one's desire for sympathy one must not lose sight of hard facts. We are here a *small British Garrison*, surrounded by millions composed of factors of

1. "Morley's Recollections," Vol. II Pp. 170-71.

> an inflammability unknown to the Western world, unsuited to Western form of government, and we must be physically strong or go to the wall."[1]

In another letter dated 19th June 1906, Lord Morley wrote to Lord Minto :—

> "Every body warns us that a new spirit is growing and spreading over India. Lawrence,[2] Chirol,[3] Sydney Low,[4] all sing the same song: 'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles whatever you may think of them. Be sure that before long Muslims will throw in their lot with the Congressmen against you,' and so on and so forth. I do not know how true this may or may not be."[5]

Replying to this letter Lord Minto wrote on 27th June 1906, that he was fully alive to the "danger" and recognised Congress as a power with which he had to deal and with whose leaders he had to reckon.

With these letters as the background we proceed to see what happened on the Indian Stage.

On 1st October, 1906 a Mohammadan deputation headed by H.H. the Aga Khan was received in audience

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1. "Lady Minto's Diary," pp. 28-29.
2. Sir Walter Lawrence, Private Secretary to Lord Curzon (Viceroy of India in 1898-1903).
3. Sir Valentine Chirol, correspondent, *The Times*, London.
4. Sir Sydney Low, special correspondent, during the Royal Visit 1905-06.
5. "Lady Minto's Diary," P. 30.

by H E. the Viceroy, Lord Minto, and presented an address to the effect that "the Mohammadan community should be represented as a community and the position of the Mohammadans be estimated not merely on their numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of the community and *services it rendered to the Empire.*"

Lord Minto's reply looked like the immage of the Deputation address, without even the well-known lateral inversion. Secretaries of State down to Sir Samual Hoare, Lord Zetland and Mr. Amery have been only playing the gramophone record of Lord Minto's reply, whenever they opened their lips on the communal question of India.

Lord Minto said to this deputation:—

> "The pith of your address as I understand it, is a claim that under any system of representation, whether it affects a municipality or a district board or legislative council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organisation, the Mohammadan community should be represented as a community. You point out that in many cases, electoral bodies as now constituted cannot be expected to return a Mohammadan candidate and that if by chance that did so, it could only be at the sacrifice of such a candidate's views to those of a majority opposed to his community, whom he would in no way represent and you *justly claim* that your position should be estimated not only on your

numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of your community, and the services it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord with you. Please do not misunderstand me. I make no attempt to indicate by what means representation of communities can be obtained, but I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure, which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent. The great mass of the people of India have no knowledge of the representative institutions. In the meantime I can only say that the Mohammadan community may rest assured, that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded by any administrative reorganisation with which I am concerned."

What was the nature and origin of this Mohammadan deputation and what was behind it? On this day *i.e.* Ist October, 1906, the following occurs in the diary of H. E. Lady Minto "A very *eventful day*, an *epoch in Indian History*."

That evening the Viceroy received the following letter from an official whose name and identity are not disclosed :—

"I must send your Excellency a line to say that a very big thing has happened today, a work

of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the *pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition.*"

That is not enough about this deputation affair. Let us set the seal on it by a significant reproduction from Lady Minto's Diary, dated October 3, 1916 (*i.e.* only two days later). Writing on the death of a great friend and Muslim leader she writes: "*He it was who engineered the recent Mohammadan deputation.*" The word "engineered" is interesting and meaningful.

Soon after, the Muslim League was formed at Aligarh on 30th December 1906. One of the chief aims of the Muslim League in its first constitution was "Loyalty to the British Government."

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, the late Prime Minister of England, in his book entitled *The Awakening in India* wrote that the immediate political successes that the Muslim League achieved in the matter of communal electorates and communal reservation of services confirmed the doubts that the Muslim leaders were instigated by the Anglo-Indian officials who were pulling wires from Simla and Whitehall. These officers sowed the seed of hatred and discord between the Hindus and Muslims by attempting to unduly favour one at the cost of the other.

From this time onward the Government began a policy of Muslim appeasement and pushed the Hindus to a great disadvantage. For instance, the Muslims

were given representation much above their numerical ratio. Their franchise was kept wider than that of the Hindus. A Muslim became enfranchised if he paid Rs. 750 as land revenue, but a Hindu had to pay Rs. 5,000 to get the same right. A Muslim had to pay Rs. 188 while a Hindu had to pay Rs. 1,250 as income-tax for getting the power to vote! Every Mohammadan State pensioner and honorary magistrate had a vote by virtue of his status, but these qualifications were not enough for a Hindu to be enfranchised. The Mohammadan demands of the "engineered" deputation of 1st October 1906 were practically accepted. The mischief was complete. A "counterpoise to Congress aims" was created, and "sixty-two millions of people were pulled back from joining the ranks of seditious opposition."

But perhaps the whole thing had been overdone. After an interview "with the sons of the crescent" as he called them, the Secretary of State, Lord Morley, wrote to the Viceroy of India, Lord Minto, on January 28, 1909:—

> "How could I satisfy them by a straight declaration of my bat? *We have to take care that in picking up the Mussalmans we do not drop our Hindu parcels and this makes it impossible to blurt out the full length to which we are or may be ready to go in the Muslim direction.*"

We find a more brutal and frank cynicism in the letter dated 28th February 1919, from the Secretary of State to the Viceroy of India :—

"I begged the Aga Khan to dismiss from his mind, what I had stated that like other English radicals I had hatred of Islam. What other liberals thought of Islam I did not know, but for myself if I were to have a label I should be called a positivist and in the positivist calendar framed by Comte after the manner of Catholics, Mohammet is one of the great leading saints and has the high honour of giving his name to a week! This will soon be expanded into a paragraph in the *Daily Mail*, that the Indian Secretary of State has turned Mohammadan. That at any rate *would tend to soften alienations from our plans.* Forgive all this nonsense. Like many other men of grave (or dull) temperament I seek snatches of relief from boredom by clapping on a fools cap at odd moments."[1]

This overdoing of the whole show began to recoil badly on the doers. The Muslim claims grew louder and wider. Lord Morley felt the need to cry halt. But Sir Theodore Morrison, an influential member of the India Council, still wanted to go the whole hog in the direction.

Lord Morley wrote to Lord Minto on Aug. 6, 1919:—

"Morrison is pertinacious up to the eleventh hour about his M. friends, insists on our pledges and predicts a storm of M.'s reproach and

1. "Morley's Recollections," Vol. II pp. 296-97.

dissatisfaction. It may be so. On the other hand, G. predicts that departure from the line we have agreed upon in our despatch would provoke at least as much reproach and dissatisfaction among the Hindus. We shall therefore have a stubborn talk in the Council, to which I shall not contribute more than two or three stubborn sentences. I am the least in the world of a Cromwellian, but I am beginning to understand, in a way never understood before, how impatience at the delays and cavilling and mistaking of very small points for big ones at last drove Oliver to send his councillors packing." [1]

In another letter dated 28th August 1909, Lord Morley wrote to the Viceroy: "Morrison tells me that a Mohammedan is coming over here on purpose to see me and will appear on Monday next. Whatever happens *I am quite sure that it was high time to put our foot definitely down and to let them know that the process of haggling has gone on long enough, come what may. I am only sorry we could not do it earlier.*" [2]

On December 6, 1909 the Secretary of State wrote to Lord Minto:—

"I won't follow you again into our Mohammadan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that *it was your early speech about their extra claims that first started the M. hare.* I am convinced my decision was best."

1. "Morley's Recollections" Vol. II. P. 315.
2. "Morley's Recollections" Vol. II. P. 317.

The " Counterpoise to Congress aims," the "pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the seditious ranks," the " engineered " deputation, and " starting the M. hare " are a few strokes of the Machiavellian art at its best.

CHAPTER II

Onwards

THOUGH the policy of running after the "M. hare" was stopped but things drifted sullenly on the routine march of history. National consciousness grew along the march of time if not swifter.

The Minto-Morley Reforms poisoned with the deadliest of all poisons, namely separate electorates had been thrust down the throats of India. This was the greatest injury that could be inflicted on India to perpetuate the British Rule. It was an attempt to destroy the unity of all people in India for a considerable time if not for all times. The separate electorates have not benefited anybody in India but they have done lot of damage to gladden the heart of John Bull.

The Congress was not slow to smell the mischief. At its 1910 session a very strongly worded resolution condemning separate electorates was moved (by Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah) and passed. Mr. Jinnah made a most forceful speech sending curses on the obnoxious virus introduced into the body politic of India with evil designs. He sounded the warning that not long after, the two great communities of India would drift away from each other, and it would be detrimental to both. Incidentally it may be mentioned that Mr. Jinnah has

himself walked into the trap and leads one community in its drifting march from the other.

Educated Mussalmans of young blood were attracted towards the Congress. Great leaders like Dr. Ansari, M. A. Jinnah, Ali Imam, Maulana Azad, Ali Brothers, Sherwani, Kitchlew and Qasuri and others in their scores began to rise and dominate the Indian political horizon.

There were only two political organisations in the country, the Indian National Congress with its nationalist ameliorative outlook and programme ; and the Muslim League with its reactionary programme. Naturally these young men began to be attracted by the Congress, and they undoubtedly brought power and prestige to it. Some attempts were also made at making the Muslim League a less reactionary and more representative organization, particularly because young blood had also entered in the Muslim League. Syed Wazir Hassan a young man of outstanding ability became the Honorary Secretary of the League, and a conference of prominent Muslims was called at Calcutta in the middle of 1912 to reconsider and re-model the constitution of that organization on more progressive and patriotic lines, for it was felt that the League with its too narrow and nebulous outlook and aims could not keep itself up to the growing national consciousness in India. The new constitution of the Muslim League was adopted at the All-India Muslim League session at Lucknow on March 22, 1913, clause D of the new constitution embodying the Congress

ideal of "Attainment under the ægies of the British Crown of a system of self-government suitable to India through constitutional means by bringing about amongst others a steady reform of the existing system of administration, by promoting national unity, by fostering public spirit among the people of India and by co-operating with other communities for the said purposes." This change in the constitution was opposed by the older people in the League.

In the meantime some events in Europe had been responsible for creating bad blood between the Christian countries of Europe (including Great Britain) and the Islamic world. Italy in 1911 attacked Tripoli, a Turkish dependency, and Great Britain remained neutral. This caused wide-spread resentment amongst the younger elements in the Indian Musalmans. In 1912 began the Balkan War in which the Christian Balkan States were arrayed against Turkey. For the Indian Muslims this war was a crusade. The Indian Muslims sent out a medical mission in December 1912 to the aid of Turkey. Dr. M. A. Ansari, the great Congress Muslim Leader, led the mission. Lothrop Stoddard in his book *The New World of Islam* (page 58) quotes two prominent Muslim Indians about the feelings of their co-religionists thus:—

> "The King of Greece orders a new crusade. From the London Chancelleries rise calls to Christian fanaticism, and Saint Petersburg already speaks of the planting of the Cross on the dome of Saint Sophia. Today they speak thus.

Tomorrow they will speak thus of Jerusalem and the Mosque of Omer. Brothers! be ye of one mind that it is the duty of every True Believer to hasten beneath the Khalifa's banner and sacrifice his life for the safety of the faith."

The second:—

"I appeal to the present Government (British Government) to change its anti-Turkish attitude, before the fury of millions of Muslim fellow subjects is kindled to a blaze and brings disaster."

We shall just presently see how the Great War completely changed the character of the Muslim League and practically merged it into the Congress, but it was clearly visible from the state of affairs that the loyalist Muslims in India were losing their ground, and the general bulk of the educated Muslims was joining the ranks of "Seditious opposition," *i.e.* the Congress. As early as 1914 the loyalists began to feel very uneasy and felt the need of taking a deputation—we hope it was not "engineered" by another friend of the Viceroy—to His Excellency, which they did on 25th March 1914 assuring the Viceroy of the "unimpeachable loyalty of the Indian Mohammedans and saying that "*all recent statements to the contrary should be treated as gross calumnies.*"

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah an able and young lawyer of Bombay was making himself felt in the public of those days. He was a man of great energy and keen opportunism. He found the Congress taking long

strides on the road to power and popularity. He joined it and soon found a prominent place in it. In those days not much sacrifice was needed to reach the top. There were no "Satyagrah," "Non-co-operation," and "Going-to-jail" ladders on which one had to climb to reach the top. A debating skill and some interest in the public life were needed and Mr. M. A. Jinnah had them in ample measure. So Mr. Jinnah became associated with the Congress from the very start of his public career. The Muslim League being a narrow and rather unpopular organization, Mr. Jinnah had kept aloof from it under the cloak of nationalism. But with a new orientatian in its policy and programme, chances of the Muslim League becoming a popular organization became brighter. Mr. M. A. Jinnah became a member of the Muslim League in England at the suggestion of Maulana Hasrat Mohani, and Syed Wazir Hassan, president and secretary of the League. From this day Mr. Jinnah began to keep his one leg in the boat of the Muslim League and the other in the boat of the Congress. But still Mr. Jinnah was a "pucca" nationalist and expressly laid a condition to his joining the Muslim League, that he would desert the League if his loyalty to it came in conflict with his loyalty either to Congress or to larger interests of India. He was chosen a member of the Congress deputation to England in May 1914, concerning the proposed reforms of the India Council. The Congress by appointing him a member of this deputation gave him biggest push in public life. And Mr. Jinnah availed himself of it in

the fullest measure. Accounts of this visit to England look like a personal popularity campaign.

In the same year started the Great World War, which had a tremendous effect on the politics of India. Things took such a turn that the entire Muslim world had to come to grief at the hands of Great Britain. Turkey which was premier Muslim power in the world joined hands with Germany. The British at once attacked Turkey. Cyprus, a Turkish island in the eastern Mediterranean Sea, was annexed by Great Britain. The British proclaimed a protectorate over Egypt. Palestine, Mesopotamia and Syria, three important limbs of the Muslim empire, were conquered after a short resistance. The British also helped the Sherif of Mecca in revolting in Hijar, against the Turkish Government, and recognised him as the ruler of Hejaz. The Greeks under inspiration from the British occupied a portion of Anatolia. Thus the Turkish Empire was very much squeezed all round, and it suffered a big shrinkage.

As the things stood, Muslims in world politics became practically non-entities. Turkey had been reduced to a third or perhaps fourth rate power. Egypt (Misr), Palestine (Falsteen), Mesopotamia (Iraq), Syria (Sham) were under the iron heels of John Bull. The Sherif of Mecca was under his thumb. Afghanistan and southern Persia were also under his sphere of influence.

There was a general wave of indignation against the English in all Islamic countries.

The Muslims of India rightly or wrongly have always aligned themselves and their destinies with the above mentioned Islamic states of the world. With a damaging change in the status of these countries, the Muslims of India felt that their own political importance had vanished. The few men at the top in Indian Muslim political and social circles, could not keep their followers from joining the ranks of seditious opposition. The Muslim League leadership had passed into the hands of young men like Dr. Ansari, Maulana Mohd. Ali, Shaukat Ali, Jinnah and others. They all stood disillusioned about the British Government whom they had thought to be friends of "sons of the crescent" as they had been described by the Secretary of State, Lord Morley.

It was under these circumstances that we got the Lucknow Pact of 1916. The differences between the Muslim League and the Congress were patched up. For all practical purposes the Muslim League merged into the Congress. The annual sessions of the Congress and the Muslim League began to be held at the same place, on the same dates. Leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Moti Lal Nehru, C. R. Dass, and others freely attended and took part in the deliberations of the Muslim League sessions. This went on from 1916 to 1921. In 1916 at the annual session of the Muslim League, Mr. M. A. Jinnah declared in his speech:—

"I have been a STAUNCH Congressman throughout my public life, and have been no lover of

SECTARIAN cries.........It appears to me that the REPROACH OF SEPARATISM sometimes levelled at Musalmans is SINGULARLY INAPT and WIDE OF THE MARK when I see this communal organization rapidly growing into a powerful factor for the birth of UNITED INDIA."

A joint scheme for post-war reforms was drawn up by the Congress and the Muslim League in 1916-17. It was presented to the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy by a joint deputation of the Congress and the Muslim League.

Mr. Ambika Charan Mozumdar, the president of the Congress for that year at Lucknow said in his presidential address: "The Hindu-Muslim question has been settled and the Hindus and Muslims have agreed to make a united demand for self-government. The All-India Congress Committee and the representatives of the Muslim League who recently met in conference at Calcutta, have after two days deliberation in ONE VOICE resolved to make a joint demand for a representative government in India."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah presiding at the Muslim League said: "In its general outlook and ideals as regards the future, the All-India Muslim League stands abreast of the Indian National Congress and is ready to participate in any patriotic efforts for the advancement of the country as a whole."

The British Government are never tired of repeating *ad nauseam* that if the Hindus and Muslims come

to terms about the form of government, the British Government would not hesitate to give reforms to India. What did they do when in 1917 a joint scheme of reforms was drawn up by the Congress and the Muslim League, and presented to the British Government through their Viceroy and Secretary of State?

CHAPTER III

Tumultuous Times

THE mind of the British dipolmat works very slow when it comes to parting with power. "Too late" is the bane of British diplomacy in the famous words of C. Rajagopalachariar. The Congress and the Muslim League working jointly had begun to think in terms of passive resistance and its efficacy in the world of politics.

On the 28th and 29th of July 1917 the joint ssesion of the Congress and the Muslim League resolved :—

> "The Provincial Congress Committees and the Council of the Muslim League be requested to consider the advisability of adopting a policy of passive resistance, both as regards its principle and working in carrying on political work and to send their opinion to the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress within six weeks. The opinions be circulated and considered at a joint meeting in the first week of October at Allahabad."

The years 1916 to 1921 are of tremendous importance in the political history of India. Complete scenes of Hindu-Muslim unity in thought word, and deed; the launching and intensification of Home Rule Movement by Mrs. Annie Besant; the Khilafat question (a purely

Muslim question, but where the Hindus under Mahatma Gandhi worked shoulder to shoulder with their Muslim brothers in the hour of the latter's need and trial); the end of the Great War in Europe, and its repercussions in India; the new Government of India Act, known as the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms; the Rowlatt Act agitation; the Jallianwala Bagh massacre by British troops under General Dyer; and the Congress Civil Disobedience Movement all passed on the Indian screen with cinematographic swiftness.

Mahatma Gandhi had not yet made his complete *debut* on the Indian stage. The great achievements that he had achieved in South Africa had of course, brought him into lime light, but not so much as to make him the first man of India as he afterwards became—a position which he has maintained since long up to the present day.

The years 1914 to 1921 were the most glorious years in so far as there was mass political awakening never achieved up to that standard before, and there was complete Hindu-Muslim unity. The M. hare and the H. hare had joined heads against those who started them. The "counterpoise to Congress aims" had gone into the Congress scales. Instead of being "pulled back" the 62 millions of people of India were found pulling along with the "seditious opposition."

The great Machiavellian artists were completely outwitted in their manœuvers.

A detailed review of the glorious seven years, though it would be a big digression from the subject in hand, would certainly help in its understanding.

THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT

As has already been pointed out, a joint scheme for constitutional reforms with the minimum of Indian demands was prepared by the Indian Congress and the Muslim League. A joint deputation of the two bodies later met the authorities in this connection. A memorandum on the basis of that joint scheme was signed and presented to the British authorities in India by nineteen prominent elected members of the Indian Legislature.

The Home Rule League of India founded by Mrs. Annie Besant, the great Theosophist scholar, quite legitimately put forward the demand, and also arranged many educational tours and lectures attempting to educate the people by help of lectures and pamphlets about Indian affairs.

The attitude of the British authorities and statesmen to the natural aspirations of Indians was callous. His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, while delivering a speech at Calcutta, probably alluding to the "Memorandum of the Nineteen" showed a dislike of what he termed "catastrophic changes"!

Lord Sydenham contributed two articles entitled "The Danger in India" in the magazine, *The Ninteenth Century and After.* According to His Lordship, the "Memorandum of the Nineteen" contained "revolutionary proposals." He made a mean insinuation that

German intrigue was at work in India and wrote that some moderates in India, under the influence of the extremists were demanding a "revolution"! He made a strong plea for supression of these "revolutionary tendencies" with a strong hand.

Soon after it was rumoured in the public that instructions had been issued to the Local Governments by the Government of India, laying down a certain policy for dealing with the cry of Indian demand for reforms. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab and Lord Pentland, Governor of Madras made very similar pronouncements which betrayed a common source of inspiration. In the words of the joint resolution of the Congress and the Muslim League, the pronouncements "exaggerate the nature of Indian demands, deprecate them in strong language, enjoin the people to abstain from all agitation, while the war was going on, and threaten them with repressive action if they did not do so. Further, the pronouncements declare that the post-War reforms which will be granted would be of but a minor character, and would fall far short of public expectation." "These pronouncements" the statement went on "created a great unrest in the country, the exaggerated statement of Sir Michael O'Dwayer in particular, that the changes proposed by the Indian party of reforms, would be as revolutionary in their character and as subversive of the existing constitution as those which the 'Ghadar emissaries' endeavoured to bring about, transgressed all limits of fair criticism

and was not only intemperate but provocative. The Indian public were brutally told not to cherish any hopes and expectations for their future.

The public agitation warmed up as also the Government repression. Mrs. Annie Besant, Dr. Arundale and Mr. Wadia had been clapped into prison under the Defence of India Act. Maulana Mohammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali had been imprisoned much earlier under the Defence of India Rules. They were arbitrarily confined to prison uncharged, untried and unconvicted. Public meetings to protest against these internments were banned at many places; even at Calcutta, where Sir Rash Behari Ghose was to preside at the meeting convened by the Sherif of that great city. Some political conspiracies based on violence also raised their heads and many people were tried and convicted to long term imprisonments. Some of them are even up to this day rotting in jails even though they have been there for more than 14 years. B. G. Tilak's educative lectures and pamphlets became very popular with the public, and the Government had to take strong steps to supress them. Tilak was also tried, and convicted by the lower court, but was acquitted on appeal by the Bombay High Court.

Later on, on the eve of the visit of the Secretary of State, Mrs. Annie Besant and her two comrades, Doctors Arundale and Wadia were let off to relieve the tense atmosphere in India. Maulana Mohammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali were asked to declare their loyalty to the British as a price for their liberty:

They spurned the offer and were not released.

Policy of repression has never served any government well, and so it was doomed to failure even in India. These internments added fuel to the fire, and created great bitterness in the Indian minds against the English bureaucrats. There were lively discussions in the House of Commons and the House of Lords in England. Johnson Hicks, a reactionary and retrograde politician said in the House of Commons that "the *whole* of Anglo India is in a ferment at Mrs. Annie Besant's release." What this "*whole*" amounts to in a vast country like India, can be told and imagined only by a man with a powerful microscope!

In the meantime, came with a bang, the famous pronouncement of August 20, 1917 of Mr. Montague, the Secretary of State for India. It was meant to be a great apple of discord. For some time it did send the various political parties in India—Congress, Home Rulers, Muslim Leaguers, Liberals, Moderates, and others—helter-skelter in the scramble for that "apple." But soon the various leaders were again in one boat, except some "yesterdays" and loyalists who were already thinking of catching some reed to stop them from being forcibly carried away by the currents of political progress in floods.

The Home Rule League and the Congress tried to send deputations to England to lay before the British Government and the British public, the case of India, and the repressive treatment of the Government. The deputations were not granted the passports. (Passport

was granted to one deputation of Home Rule League but was cancelled later at the instance of the British War Cabinet !). This aggravated matters further and intensified the political urge for freedom. *The New India* (of Mrs. Besant) *The Hindu* and *The Amrit Bazar Patrika* were banned from being circulated in Burma, which then was a part of India. The Kaira Royats started passive resistance under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the trouble was rather local.

MONTAGUE REFORMS

Montague-Chelmsford Reforms were proclaimed on the 8th July 1918. The Reforms were held as very unsatisfactory by progressive India. People of India had asked for bread, the British Parliament had given them dried crusts. The British bureaucrat perhaps had thought that he was giving to India much more than India deserved or aspired for. Mrs. Annie Besant said about the Reforms : "The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms are a slow eighteenth-century coach lumbering along the high road suitable enough, perhaps if they had been introduced for the slow days of a bygone century, but we are in a century of swift mail trains, and aeroplanes, and we must travel swiftly if we are not to be left hopelessly in the rear." B. G. Tilak, the most prominent Indian leader of those days was gagged. Arrests, imprisonments, internments, searches, and gagging orders failed to extinguish the fire in the hearts of the Indians. The government often fail to understand human psychology, this lack of knowledge often betrays them, and they usually choose a

wrong remedy and apply it wrongly at the wrong place.

ROWLATT ACT

On came the Rowlatt Bill—a most repressive measure that should bring shame to any decent and civilised government in the world. And it was introduced into the Imperial Legislature in India—a sham of a Legislature, where the Government could carry through even the worst measure by the sheer strength of its nominated official and non-official block. The prominent elected members in the Legislature fought the Bill clause by clause, inch by inch. Pandit Malaviya refused to affix his signatures on the Bill as it emerged from the standing committee. Whole night and day sittings were held to rush through the clumsy measure. While going through the reports of the proceedings of the Indian Legislature, of those days, one feels proud of the great debating skill of the Indian leaders, equal to that of the great statesmen of any country. Right was pitched against Might, and as usually happens Might won! The Rowlatt Bill became an act. There was a great storm of indignation all over the country. People all over India struck work. A complete "Hartal" initiated the campaign against this repressive measure. There were hostile demonstrations all over India, and at some places the police had to open fire with machine-guns, and had to "lathi-charge" the demonstrators. Prominent people walked out of the Legislature. Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah was one of those who resigned their seats in the Central Legislature as a protest against the Rowlatt Act.

JALLIANWALA BAGH MASSACRE

Then took place one of the most dastardly incidents namely, the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre when General Dyer mounted machine-guns at the only entrance and exit of the Jallianwala Bagh where a peaceful mammoth public meeting was being held, and started making a Gallipoli of different character, for the victims were unarmed innocent people. Thousands were killed and injured. The firing ceased when the munition was finished. The whole tragedy is blood curdling and makes one's flesh creep unless it is made of General Dyer's stuff.

THE KHILAFAT

The "Khilafat" movement was also at full swing in those days, under the leadership of Maulana Mohamed Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Mahatma Gandhi. The "Khilafat" Question was a purely Muslim affair, and was the outcome of certain international events during and at the end of the Great War of 1914-18. The Muslims of India, as also the Muslims of the whole world, felt greatly aggrieved over the treatment meted out to the Islamic World, particularly to Turkey, by Great Britain. The Khilafat Committee of India sent a deputation to the Viceroy pointing it out to him that the Indian Mussalmans could not tolerate the dismemberment of Turkey, and the snatching away of Muslim religious places from under the Caliphate of Turkey, and placing them under the control or sphere of influence of non-Muslims. The demands were just and reasonable. The Viceroy's

reply to the deputation of Dr. M. A. Ansari—later on President of the Indian National Congress, and a staunch Congress Muslim leader till his death in 1935—showed wanton disregard of Mohammedan feelings. There was great political unrest and discontentment. Mysteriously somehow information leaked out that the British Government had decided to occupy Constantinople though about a fortnight earlier Mr. Lloyd George had given an assurance in the House of Commons that Constantinople would remain with the Turks. This news caused a commotion in the Indian Mussalmans and incensed them further. Later on a deputation headed by the late Maulana Mohamad Ali waited on the Prime Minister of Great Britain, but received a most disappointing reply to their legitimate requests. The Turkish peace terms were published on the 14th May, 1920. Nothing could be more disappointing. The feelings of the Muslim World were still further incensed by this added insult to injury.

The Hindus of India as one man came to the help of their Muslim brothers in the hour of their trial and need. It would not be off the mark to point out, that if any community or country in the whole world helped the Mussalmans at the time of their greatest peril and need, it was the Hindus and Hindustan! The Hindus helped their Muslim comrades in men, money and blood. Ungrudgingly they suffered innumerable sacrifices, bore extreme hardships in facing the bullet and the baton. Heart and soul, the Hindu

threw himself into the struggle for the vindication of the honour of his fallen brother. Burying the past and forgetting the long tale of the defilement of Hindu temples in India, the Hindu came out to work shoulder to shoulder with the Mussalman, for the protection of the Muslim holy places in the Middle East. He fought the cause of the Mussalman as if it were his own. A friend in need is a friend indeed, and the Hindu gave the most conclusive proof that he was a friend indeed, and the only friend in the whole world of two hemispheres! Mahatma Gandhi gave an ultimatum to the Government that if the Khilafat wrongs and the Punjab wrongs were not mitigated, he would start non-co-operation. The Government took the threat in the most non-serious manner, and the non-co-operation movement was launched by Mahatma Gandhi on the 1st of August 1920. He, along with Maulana Mohamad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali, completely overshadowed the Indian Political Horizon, and their word came to have practically the force of law not only to the Indian masses, but also to the younger educated element both Hindu and Muslim. The "trio" made a truimphant march all over the country "ran-sacking" every other political party, and every other creed and political view. Students, lawyers and many "Sarkarwalas" left their places, and were swept along by the political flood led open by the "trio." There was a revolt by the Aligarh Muslim University students against the authorities of the University and students *en-masse* joined the great-

movement. Colleges were closed at many places, students, leaving their books in their shelfs for the time being, came out into the political field for the vindication of their honour and ideals. It was decided at the meeting of Khilafat Committee at Allahabad that Mahatma Gandhi was to be sole head of the movement and the Muslims were to follow his directions. Such was the mutual confidence of Hindus and Muslims.

Those political leaders who only wanted to talk and talk and do nothing were pushed aside like dust. Conspicuous by his absence from first-class politics was Mr. Mohamad Ali Jinnah the Bombay lawyer. So long as it was safe to remain in the Congress, the Muslim League and the Home Rule League, and maintain political leadership by just uttering a few well-chosen words at this meeting or that, Mr. Jinnah was in the vanguard. But when all the three organisations began to tread on dangerous grounds and the possibility of their coming into conflict with the Government became imminent, Mr. Jinnah deserted them, or as some say "was left out." Mr. Jinnah could do the talking and keep the leadership so long as it did not bring him into direct conflict with the authorities. He could do anything but suffer at the hands of the Government. This type of timidity is shown by many a public man in India who of course hides it under the cloak of what he calls his "adherence to constitutionalism."

As has already been pointed out, the Home Rule

League had come to grips with the Government. Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak the President of the Home Rule League having died, Mahatma Gandhi was elected its President. A change in the constitution of the Home Rule League was proposed and adopted, Article 2 of which laid down the aim of the Home Rule League as "complete Swarajya." Mr. Mohamad Ali Jinnah was struck aghast by this revolutionary change in the constitution and he resigned from the League over Article 2, thinking that it would mean unconstitutional and illegal activities, which might lead Mr. Jinnah to Yervada prison! Mahatma Gandhi wrote a letter to Mr. Jinnah dwelling on the interpretation of the words "unconstitutional" and "illegal" from the point of view of a practising lawyer and a constitutionalist. A cyclist, wrote Mahatma Gandhi, cycling without a lamp to fetch a doctor acted contrary to law but he did not engage in illegal activity. Mr. Jinnah refused to reconsider his resignation and wrote that though he wanted India to be free within the British Empire, yet he did not want to break the link between India and Great Britain!

Things went on. The public agitation swelled and swelled. The Home Rule agitation giving birth to Rowlatt Act agitation; the Rowlatt Act agitation intensifying in the Punjab Wrongs agitation; the Punjab Wrongs agitation merging into the Khilafat agitation and the non-co-operation movement. Mr. Jinnah did issue a statement or send a wire but made no practical contribution to any of the movements.

except of course signing the address of the Khilafat deputation to the Viceroy which consisted of the following persons :—

Leader.—Dr. M. A. Ansari.

Members.—1. Hakim Ajmal Khan. 2. Saudul Munshi. 3. M. Shaukat Ali. 4. M. Mohd. Ali. 5. Mr. Syed Hussain 6. Mian Mohd. Chhotani. 7. Maulana Abdul Bari. 8. Maulana Abdul Hussain. 9. Maulana Wilayat Hussain. 10. Maulana Abdul Majid Burdwani. 11. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. 12. Syed Suleman Nadvi. 13. Maulana Hasrat Mohani. 14. Syed Zahur Ahmed. 15. Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew (Bar.-at-Law, Amritsar). 16. Mr. Mumtaz Hussain (Bar.-at-Law, Lucknow). 17. Molvi Mohd. Ali Qadarni. 18. Maulana Zaman Ullah (Amritsar). 19. M. Ghulam Mohi Uddin. 20. Agha Mohd. Safdar (Sialkot) 21. Maulana Mohd. Faqir. 22. Hakim Mohd. Musa Khan Sherwani 23. M. Mufti Kifayat Ullah. (Delhi). 24. Sir Afzal Bhoy Karimbhoy 25. Pandit Ram Bhaj Datt Choudhri. 26. Mahatma Gandhi. 27. Pandit Malaviya. 28. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru. 29. Syed Hussain Immam. 30. Mr. M. A. Jinnah. 31. Raja of Mahmudabad. 32. Mr. Agha Hassan. 33. Raja of Jahangirabad. 34. Mr. Fazal-ul-Haq. 35. Syed Raza Ali, and others.

Otherwise Mr. Jinnah completely kept out of the Khilafat agitation and made no secret of his strong dislike of the movement. He completely ignored the

strong public opinion of the entire Muslim world, particularly that of the Mussalmans of his own country. One fails to understand this indifference of Mr. Jinnah, with regard to a problem which was a matter of life and death to the entire Mussalman world. He did believe that a great injustice had been done to his community. He did not suggest or follow any means to mitigate it. He refused to join a movement started for its mitigation. One should like to compare the attitude of this so-called Qaid-i-Azam of the Mussalmans with the helpful attitude of the Hindus to this greatest problem that ever faced the Muslims. Afraid of coming into conflict with the Government he refused to join a mass movement, and quietly slipped out of all those organizations which stood for progress and fight. Pandit Jwaharlal Nehru makes a mention in his *Autobiography* about Mr. Jinnah in those days :—

> " A few older leaders however dropped out of the Congress and among these a popular and well-known figure was that of Mr. M. A. Jinnah ....the new developments in the congress—non-co-operation and the new constitution which made it more of a popular and mass organization —non-co-operation were thoroughly disapproved of by him. He disagreed on political grounds, but it was not politics in the main that kept him away. There were still many people in the Congress who were politically even less advanced than he was. But temperamentally he did not

fit in at all with the new Congress. He felt completely out of his element in the khadi clad crowd demanding speeches in Hindustani. The enthusiasm of the people outside struck him as mob Hsyteria. There was as much difference between him and the Indian masses as between Saville Row or Bond Street, and the Indian village with its mud huts. He suggested once privately that only matriculates should be taken into the Congress. I do not know if he was serious in making this remarkable suggestion, but it was in harmony with his general outlook. So he drifted away from the Congress and became a rather solitary figure in Indian politics. Later unhappily the old Ambassador of Unity associated himself with the most reactionary elements in Muslim communalism."

The above is very nearly a true picture of the escapist Mr. Jinnah. He left his community in the lurch when he was most needed. Before passing on to the next decade in the development of the Indian communal problem, and the development of the politics of Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah, it is of interest to reproduce certain passages from the speeches of Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah delivered in the years of which the above is a brief account. Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah by his speeches and pronounced views on the essential unity of Hindus and Muslims had come to be known as "Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity." He believed

strongly that Hindus and Muslims were ONE NATION. They were sons of the *Common Motherland.* Addressing the Mussalmans in Bombay he said, "Then again one of your chief objects should be co-operation, unity and good will........between Mohammadans and other communities in this country. As citizens you would have to share the burden of work with other communities: and it would therefore be better, if you started to try to understand the other communities; ....that would be the surest way of progress in this country. There was one thing that must be realized by every thinking person as essential. If progress was to be made it would not be by dissension. Unity was absolutely essential to progress."

Speaking at another place he said, " Is there any reason why higher offices in the Governmental machinery should be closed to the SONS OF INDIA."

At another occasion :—

Hindus and Muslims united and firm, the voice of the three hundred millions of people vibrating throughout the length and breadth of the country, will produce a force which no power on earth can resist. India has I believe turned a corner. She has passed through great sufferings and borne them patiently for centuries. Now a great future is in front of her. Forward is the Motto, and clear course for India."

Again :—" Co-operation in the cause of our motherland should be our guiding principle."

It should be remembered that this gentleman who now swears by the separate electorates, was the mover of a most important resolution on joint electorates and condemned separate electorates at the 1910 session of the Indian National Congress at Allahabad. The resolution was seconded by one of the greatest of Indian Mussalmans, namely Maulana Mazahar-ul-Haque. Minto-Morley Reforms were just out, giving for the first time separate electorates to the Muslims. The British Government had fulfilled the "demands" and "wishes" of the "engineered" deputation of 1906.

Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah was one of the most prominent members of the Council of Bombay Presidency Association which sent the following letter to the Viceroy :—

"To single out 62 millions from a population of 300 millions for exclusive and exceptional treatment on account of their religion would be an attempt impolitic enough to be perilous. If the Mohammadans under special and exceptional circumstances require their proper rights to be safeguarded by special measures, the same consideration and same protection should be afforded to the Hindus under similar circumstances. To leave the Mohammadan majority where it exists un-fettered, and to seek to provide checks against the Hindu majority alone must to the latter appear an act of intolerance on the part of the Government which they are entitled to resent.........That the great and important Mohammadan community should have

adequate representation in the Legislative Council and in all public affairs is what the Council are prepared to advocate and recommend without reserve. They have every sympathy with Mohammadan aspirations, and they feel bound to point out that these aspirations have never been ignored, but *always been promoted by the political activities of the Hindus* and other communities. Every movement for securing greater rights for the population at large has benefitted the mohammadans no less than other communities, and if the Mohammadans have failed to avail themselves of it at all to the extent they desire, the result is due to their unfortunate backwardness in taking advantage of the educational facilities provided by Government and not to the selfishness and opposition of other communities........" The memorandum went on further and said "It is not *honest and fair* to the Mohammadans *to encourage delusive hopes* and *keep them in darkness as to the true causes of backwardness* of which they are becoming conscious and for which the remedy is largely in their own hands." The system of separate electorates and other sectarian distinctions created by the Minto-Morley Reforms came in for a strong criticism. The legacy that this obnoxious system has left was foreshadowed in the memorandum. The words of the memorandum ring as true in our ears today as they were in 1910. "These measures are bound to create in the public body, feelings of race and religious animosities dangerous to peace and contentment: and in the legislature

itself a spirit of faction, which will mar the utility and lower in public esteem the character of the Legislative Councils." Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah dare not deny that these were his views in those days.

CHAPTER IV

Conferences and Riots

WE have already seen how Mr. Jinnah deserted the progressive political organizations when they came to grips with the Government. From its leaders the country demanded huge sacrifices, sufferings and hardships. Imprisonments, exhorbitant fines, forfeiture of property, internments or externments and lathi charges all came in the travail of direct action. Mr. Jinnah was no good for it. One must keep in mind that it was not on Hindu-Muslim problem or on any other communal matter that Mr. Jinnah parted company with the Congress, the Home Rule League and other progressive organizations. The Yarvada prison was too great a dread for the man of the Mount Pleasant, Malabar Hill! And then he had to accept the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi! His personal egoism and individualism could not stand it.

Politics is more than a spider's web. Once you get entangled into its meshes there is no getting out of it. Mr. Jinnah dis-entangled himself from the inner circle of dangerous politics on the principle of "Safety First," but what about the outer circle? He could not overnight fit on himself the garb of a reactionary or a communalist, without imperilling his own political existence. Therefore, we find Mr. Jinnah playing the role of a peace-lover in the All Parties Conference

popularly called Malaviya Conference 1922. The ostensible object of this Conference was to ease down the tense atmosphere in India due to struggle between the Government and the people, and to bring about mutual understanding. It would also have meant return of the Congress to softer politics where people like Mr. Jinnah could easily play their fiddle. Mr. Jinnah was the secretary of the Conference, its president being Sir Sankaran Nair. Mahatma Gandhi also attended it and his participation resulted in the creation of a scene. While Mahatma Gandhi was speaking, an argument unfortunately developed between Mahatma Gandhi and the President, Sir Sankaran. Shouted the President: "Gandhi, either you leave the place or I shall leave it." And the president left! He issued a most degrading and distasteful statement to the Press which aroused great indignation throughout India. The statement was challenged and condemned by Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah as also by others. The Conference adjourned after passing a number of resolutions about the various constitutional problems in India.

In the twenties Mr. Jinnah became rather a lonely figure in Indian politics as pointed out by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his *Autobiography*. Of course he was quite well up in the Legislative Assembly as an independent member and also found some favour in the official circles, who recognised and appreciated him by appointing him on the Muddiman Committee to enquire into the working of the Montford Reforms,

and on the Skeen Committee on the Indianization of army. The Congress boycotted both the committees. The report of the Muddiman Committee was halting and half hearted, while the Skeen Committee Report contained fairly liberal suggestions. But it must have been a great disappointment to Mr. Jinnah to find that the Government did not care even a hoot for the recommendations of the two committees and went on in its usual way.

The Congress stopped Civil Disobedience Movement due to some violent disturbances at one or two places. Certain political leaders who had suffered imprisonments were bought over by the other side. Many a public leader left the popular cause for the sake of " a ribband to stick to his coat." But still the entire front rank Muslim leadership was in the Congress. Muslim League practically died its death probably because it had outlived its utility, if at all it had any. As many as four presidentships were occupied by Muslims in the twenties : Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Mohd. Ali, Dr. M. A. Ansari and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. This conclusively gives the lie back to those who are in the habit of chastising the Congress for being a Hindu body. Is it not a fact that the four above named gentlemen were the most prominent Mussalmans of their times? Death has laid its icy hands on the first three. They are not there when they are needed most. Had they been alive they would not have allowed Mr. Jinnah and his henchmen to play the fool in Indian politics.

May God spare Maulana Abul Kalam Azad the greatest and the most learned Mulim divine of India to guide the destinies of this great continent for many a year with his undisputed learning and statesmanship.

One fails to account for the Hindu Muslim riots that took place in many big cities in India. Thank God, the trouble confined itself to cities only. These riots had been preceded by complete Hindu-Muslim unity in the teens. Even when the riots were raging, Muslim leadership was entirely in the Congress. What could then be the cause of these riots which were practically on an India wide scale? Some people suggest that the religious ferment let loose after the termination of the Khilafat Question, broke open in the form of communal riots. But one cannot digest this without a grain of salt. The immediate causes were rather local, but the country wide nature of the riots goes to suggest that some "agents provocateur" may have been at work! Practical necessities more often than not degrade the morals of the so-called saviours of civilization in the 20th century! Perhaps the start in the riots was given by Allahabad. The tragedy is that it occurred soon after the meeting of the Unity Conference in Delhi in 1924.

Many a conference had been called to bring about and cement Hindu-Muslim unity. Most of those conferences are not of much importance. But a significance is attached to the Unity Conference of 1924 as it took place under the shadow of Mahatma Gandhi's 21 days fast in Delhi. Maulana Mohd. Ali, the

erudite intellectual, was the Congress President of the year, and it was he who called the Conference. Many a pious and important resolution was passed by the Conference. But the riots did not stop. In 1927, the riots rather increased in intensity. Lahore, Multan, Bihar, Bareilly, Nagpur, Allahbad, Calcutta, bore the full brunt of the rage. The toll taken by the riots was huge and dreadful. In 18 months 250 precious lives were sacrificed at the altar of the God of Hatred and over 2,500 were seriously injurred. The above are the Government figures, therefore due allowance must be made before vouchsafing their correctness.[1]

The Congress did not close its eyes to this state of affairs. Another Unity Conference was called by the All India Congress Committee, on 27th October 1927, which after due deliberation passed the following resolution :—

> "Whereas no community in India should impose or seek to impose its religious obligations or religious views upon any other community, but free profession and practice of religion should, subject to public order and morality be guaranteed to every community and person, Hindus are at liberty to take out processions, and play music before mosques at any time for religious or social purposes. But there should be no stoppage nor special demonstration in front of the mosques, nor shall songs or music played in front of such mosques, be such as is calculated

1. Congress Reports about riots are generally suppressed.

to cause annoyance, special disturbance or offence to worshippers in the mosques. Muslims shall be at liberty to sacrifice or slaughter cows in exercise of their rights in any town or village, in any place, not being a thoroughfare, nor one exposed to the gaze of Hindus. Cows should not be led in procession or in demonstration for sacrifice or slaughter.

Having regard to the deep rooted sentiment of the Hindu community in the matter of cow-killing, the Muslim community is earnestly appealed to so conduct cow sacrifice as not to cause any annoyance to Hindus of the town or village concerned."

Many other resolutions dealing with the same subject were passed by the Unity Conference, and later on the All India Congress Committee adopted all of them in its own meeting which took place soon after. Earlier Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, the Congress president of the Gauhati session prepared a scheme for communal settlement. The scheme was rather of an academic nature reflecting the great learning and imagination of President Iyengar. It contemplated joint electorates with reservation of seats on population basis in the provinces and at the Centre, and also provided reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities including Sikhs in the Punjab, by a mutual agreement so as to give them weightage in the provinces as well as at the Centre.

It would be interesting to note in this connection that Mr. Jinnah had not yet condescended to play the part of a reactionary and a communalist. Before passing on to the new chapter to deal with the Simon Commission and after, we should like to end it with one quotation (out of scores of such nature) from speeches of Mr. Jinnah delivered between 1920 to 1927. This would help the reader in understanding his politics at that time. Of course nothing is static in the world of politics. Politics is nothing if not dynamic. But when a politician suddenly jumps from one end of the extreme to the other end, changing his life long conceptions of political principles, condemning in most scathing terms what he cherished the most, and all this without giving his special reasons for the change in outlook, it can only be termed political dishonesty. One should compare his speeches in the twenties with those in the thirties. and then put him a question "Qaid-i-Azam, will you please explain the new circumstances that transformed you from a great nationalist into a rank communalist?"

> "I Sir, stand here with a clear conscience, and I say that I AM A NATIONALIST FIRST, A NATIONALIST SECOND, AND A NATIONALIST LAST.........I once more appeal to this House, whether you are a Mussalman or a Hindu, FOR GOD'S SAKE DO NOT IMPORT THE DISCUSSION OF COMMUNAL MATTERS into this House, and degrade this Assembly, which we desire SHOULD BECOME A REAL NATIONAL PARLIAMENT.

SET AN EXAMPLE TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD AND OUR PEOPLE."

"In NATIONAL UNITY lies salvation," were the pet words of Mr. Jinnah, and there were very few speeches of his in which he missed to express these sentiments.

CHAPTER V

Simon Commission and After

NOVEMBER 1927 began with a hush and a sensation. The Viceroy all of a sudden cancelled his tour, and hurried back to New Delhi. He issued invitations to all prominent public leaders to see him at their earliest convenience. There was something important coming. No body knew what it was. Mahatma Gandhi touring in the south a thousand miles away from the Indian capital, also received the invitation, and cancelling his tour suddenly, he left for Delhi. But the interview with the Viceroy was a "cold affair." Lord Irwin only handed him over the statement of the Secretary of State for India, announcing the visit of Simon Commission.

Was this all the business, when asked by Mahatma Gandhi the Viceroy replied "yes." Mahatma Gandhi felt that the statement could have been sent to him in an anna envelope! He took the long journey for nothing. The Commission was to be composed of Englishmen entirely. There was hurried activity to secure India's co-operation for the Commission. Lord Birkenhead was then the Secretary of State for India.

In a talk with an Indian Prince, the hot headed Lord was reported to have told the Prince: "You dare not reject anything that we offer you and if you

dare do it we shall see." We do not know what the prince said, but this is what India said "Quite so, all the world will see, and the world will remember that Lord Birkenhead was one of those, who entered into a treasonable conspiracy, drilling an army and filling a treasury to fight His Majesty's troops in Northern Ireland. And now that a Commission is appointed, in which India's immediate destiny is to be fixed and from which Indians are boycotted, he loses his temper over a suggestion, that Indians may copy his own policy of boycott. Surely imitation would be the sincerest flattery."

The Simon commission was hated and despised by every body in India. Even the Muslim League which had been lying on its death bed, got rejuvenated to express its abhorrance at the Simon Commission. But all of a sudden two Muslim Leagues shot up each claiming to be the real Muslim League, and decrying the other to be a spurious one.

On December 30, 1927, one League held its session at Calcutta, presided over by Maulvi (now Sir) Mohd. Yaqub, the Deputy President of the Legislative Assembly. This League passed the following resolution moved by Sir Ali Imam of Bihar with only two votes against, "All India Muslim League emphatically declares that the Simon Commission and the procedure as announced are unacceptable to the people of India. It therefore resolves that Mussalmans throughout the country should have nothing to do with the Commission at any stage or in any form."

In the other League on the same dates a resolution objecting to the boycott of the Commission was declared passed by a narrow majority, by Sir Mohd. Shaffi, the president, and one of the most reactionary and loyalist Mussalmans in India—a man who got the best rewards from the British Government for his age-long loyalty. The minority demanded a recounting of the votes which was disallowed. These leaders consisting of Dr. Mohd. Alam, Maulana Abdul Qadir, Ch. Afzal Haq, M. Mazhar Ali Azhar, and M. Mohd. Shareef, then issued a statement complaining agaist the high handedness of the President and proving that the majority was with them, *i.e.* for the boycott.

The Congress held its session at Madras. The President again being the most eminent Indian Mussalman, Dr. M. A. Ansari, whose record of services to Islam was unsurpassed and unparallelled. Of course, the Congress resolution on the boycott of Simon Commission was more comprehensive, virile and reproaching.

The earlier boycotts of the tour of Lord Chelmsford and the Prince of Wales, though unique and important in their own way pale into insignificance against the huge boycott of the Simon Commission. Self-respecting India to one man sent his reproach to the Simon Commission. "Simon go back" became for the time being more popular than "Gandhi ki Jai." Strikes and hostile demonstrations heralded the Simon Commission wherever it went. The Government tried

to suppress the natural indignation of the people. Persons like Jawaharlal Nehru and Lala Lajpat Rai were mercilessly beaten by the police. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gives a most descriptive account of the attack by mounted police on himself and the people of Lucknow. It would be out of the scope of the present book to describe at length, the Simon Commission days, except to point out that Lala Lajpat Rai is believed to have died because of Lathi blows he received while leading a peaceful procession at Lahore.

When the Simon Commission affair was over in India, another All Parties Conference was held—the longest of its kind in India. This conference solved the communal problem by accepting the Nehru Report at Lucknow with slight modifications.

How did the Nehru Report tackle the communal problem ? It adopted :—

1. Joint electorates with reservation of seats for Muslims in those provinces where they were in minority, and for non-Muslims in N.-W. F. P., according to their population percentage, with right to contest seats other than those reserved for them.

2. In the Punjab and Bengal no reservation of seats for any commanity.

3. Reservation of seats to be only for ten years.

4. Sind to be separated from Bombay after making due enquiry as to its financial self sufficiency.

5. The N.-W. F. P. to be treated at par with other provinces in India.

The above recommendations of the Nehru Committee were slightly altered at the Lucknow All Parties Conference, which was attended by the representatives of :—

1. Congress, 2. Hindu Mahasabha, 3. All India Muslim League, 4. All India Liberal Federation, 5. Central Khilafat Committee, 6. Central Sikh League, 7. Home Rule League, 8. All India Indian Christian Conference, 9. Jamait-ul-Ulma-i-Hind, 10. All India States Peoples Conference, 11. Malaviya's Nationalist Party, 12. Britith Indian Association, 13. Indian Association Calcutta, 14. Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce, 15. Sind National League, 16. Deccan Sabha, 17. Savadheen Bharat Sangha.

It would be of interest to give rather a detailed report of the proceedings of the Conference for the last four days at Qaisar Bagh, Lucknow. Dr. M. A. Ansari presided at the Conference, and Maharaja of Mahmudabad, the well-known U. P. Muslim leader welcomed the delegates. A host of telegrams and messages wishing success to the conference were received from prominent leaders who could not attend.

The President made an impassioned appeal for unity and prayed that the Conference would be a hallmark in the future unity of India. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru then formally submitted the Nehru Report. Lala Lajpat Rai moved a resolution expressing gratitude and approval of the great work done by the Nehru Committee whose member were : 1. Pt. Moti

Lal Nehru, 2. Sir Ali Imam, 3. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, 4. Mr. M. S. Aney, 5. Sardar Mangal Singh, 6. Mr. Shuaib Quraishi, 7. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, 8. Mr. G. Pardhan. The resolution was seconded with suitable speeches by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Malaviya, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Dr. Mrs. Annie Besant, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, Maulvi Mohd. Yaqoob, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. C. Vijaya Raghavachariar, Giani Sher Singh, Raja Sir Rampal Singh, Maulana Ahmed Said, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Mr. M. C. Chhagla, Ch. Behari Lal and Mr. Tufail Ahmed.

Pandit Malaviya moved the second resolution declaring India's goal to be Dominion Self-Government, without restricting the liberty of action of those people who stood for complete independence. The resolution was seconded by Sir C. P. Ramswami Iyer and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. There was a tussel between those who stood for complete independence and those who stood for Dominion Self-Government. Maulana Mufti Kifayat Ullah, M. Mohd. Shaffi, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Pt. H. N. Kanzru, Dr. Mohd. Alam, Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, and Mr. Vishwanathan took part in the discussion. The fire-brands, Subhas and younger Nehru precipitated a threat and the very next morning formed a new party called the Independent League. Pandit Malaviya's motion was carried.

The third resolution related to Indian States. Mr. Mani Lal Kothari the mover, Sir Tej Bahadur

Sapru, Maulana Zaffar Ali and Pandit Malaviya took part in the discussion and the recommendations of the Nehru Committee on it were unanimously accepted. At this stage the president, Dr. Ansari, announced that the vexing question of the separation of the Sind was amicably settled between the Hindus and Muslims and their settlement was embodied in the resolution moved by the chair proposing that Sind should be made a separate province if after due enquiry it was found that Sind was financially self sufficient, or if the majority was prepared to take the responsibility of making it so.

The resolution was carried unanimously amidst great acclamations. The 5th resolution moved by Pandit Misra and seconded by Moulvi Abdul Majid related to the redistribution and readjustment of the provinces. Many amendments were moved; some were accepted along with the original resolution. The 6th resolution was rather vexatious. Lala Lajpat Rai moved that the constitution scheme as embodied in the Nehru Report be admitted as the basic principle for any future constitution for India. There was hot discussion over it. The Punjab question was a difficult thorn. While the discussion was going on, the news was announced that a settlement was arrived at by the Punjabees themselves. The settlement was later on embodied in the resolution of Lala Lajpat Rai. It contained the signatures of the following persons :—

Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew ; Maulana Zafar Ali Khan ; Dr. Mohd. Alam ; Mr. Abdul Rehaman Ghazi ;

Maulana Daood Ghaznavi; Mr. Afzal Haq; Mr. Siraj-Ud-Din Piracha; Mr. Abdul Qadir; Mr. Hissam-Ud-Din; Sardar Sardool Singh Caveeshar; Lala Lajpat Rai; Lala Duni Chand; Pandit Harditt Sharma; Dr. Satyapal: Lala Girdhari Lal; Master Tara Singh and Giani Sher Singh.

The new resolution was to the effect that with the inauguration of the Nehru Committee scheme, the Punjab Muslims also accepted the recommendations of the Nehru Committee relating to communal representation with joint electotates provided that there was adult franchise, and this arrangement was subject to revision after ten years, if any parties concerned wanted a revision. The Conference accepted the resolution amidst great felicitations and acclamations. An awkward bone of contention had been removed. Mrs. Annie Besant and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu congratulated every body concerned over the nice manner in which a vexing and difficult problem had been solved. Forces of unity and freedom had truimphed over the spirit of communalism. Mr. Akram Khan and Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta the accredited Bengali leaders accepted the proposals of the Nehru Committee relating to Bengal. Mr. M. C. Chhagla's resolution requesting the Nehru Committee to make suitable safeguards for minorities in the Central Legislature with regard to the method of amendment of the constitution was accepted.

The next resolution related to the rights of States

people living in the Indian Commonwealth. It was also unanimously accepted.

Next Maulana Shaffi Daoodi moved that the language of the Commonwealth of India was to be Hindustani written in Urdu or Devanagri script. This was another difficult question. After a good deal of thrashing out, it emerged solved in the following manner:—

1. The minorities were given the right to get their children educated in their own mother tongue and with their own script.

2. Hindustani written in both Urdu and Hindi script was to be the lingua franca, while English was also recognized as a medium of communication with each other.

3. Each province was to have its own court language, but Hindustani and English were allowed to be used.

The rest of the proceedings relate to the resolution of declaration of Rights and other matters therefore they may not be reproduced here. The Conference ended successfully and amidst great felicitations.

It should be noted in connection with this Conference that this was a most representative gathering, where Hindus, Muslims and other communities were represented in full and equal strength and that every resolution was moved and seconded by a prominent Hindu and a prominent Muslim. Thus

there was a complete unanimity of purpose, and the question of one party thrusting its will on the other by the strength of its numbers did not arise at all. Practically every resolution was passed unanimously. No body complained about any high-handedness or disregard shown to the interest of any community. The years of grace 1927 and 1928 were marked for a keen desire on the part of every Indian to bring about a settlement of the communal question. Every community had seen that riots could not pay anybody. A perpetual state of war was an impossibility. The Madras Congress had devoted a good deal of its thoughts to this problem. Even the Muslim League President declared in his presidential address that the proposals of the Madras Congress were acceptable to 90% of Mussalmans. Here is the Calcutta resolution of the Congress accepting the decisions of the All Parties Conference.

> "The Congress having considered, the constitution recommended by the All Parties Committee Report, welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems and congratulates the committee on the virtual unanimity of the recommendations and whilst adhering to the resolution relating to complete independence passed at the Madras Congress, approves of the constitution drawn up by the committee as a great step in political advance specially as it represents the largest measure of agreement attained among the important parties in the country. Subject

to the exigencies of the political situation this Congress will adopt the constitution if it is accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before the 31st December 1929, but in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection the Congress will organise a campaign of non-voilent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon.

Consistently with the above nothing in this resolution shall interfere with the carrying on in the name of the Congress, of the propaganda for complete independence."

Many a public leader of various communities had met each other and explored possibilities of a lasting peace between the great communities of India. While India was overtaken by a complete desire for unity what was John Bull doing ?

John Bull would not like his age long mischief to be undone in the span of two years 1927-28. There he was, not a silent or indifferent spectator, but as one thoroughly awake and conscious of what was happening or about to happen !

The bigger boss Lord Birkenhead wrote to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin : "I should advise Simon (of Simon Commission) to see at all stages important people who are not boycotting the Commission, *particularly Muslims and depressed classes. I should widely advertise all his interviews with representative Muslims.* The

whole policy now is obvious. It is to terrify the immense Hindu population by the apprehension that the Commission is being got hold of by the Muslims and may present a report altogether destructive of the Hindu position, thereby securing a solid block of Muslim support.........."

What mischief those words contain can better be imagined than described.

Muslim leaders except loyalists were not easily caught in the trap. It goes to the credit of Mr. Jinnah that he also boycotted the Simon Commission, and exhorted others to do so.

Mr. Jinnah had been practically an individual in politics for a considerable time. But every thing has its limits, even individualism. Individualism in politics for a long time turns a man into a non-entity, because leadership and individualism go ill together in the world of politics. Mr. Jinnah had found it to his cost. What was he to do? Join the Congress, the Government or other reactionary forces in the country? The Congress had its aim "complete swarajya," therefore applying the logic of Home Rule League incident, it was "dangerous" to join it. To join the Government whose opponent (howsoever lukewarm at times) he had been for over two decades, would create the impression that he was a turn coat, and a "toady." Probably it would have meant political death. He had been in England for some time, and on his return to India what could he clap at? The

Nehru Report was a well talked about matter of the moment. Mr. Jinnah began falling foul of it. Arguements seldom fail a clever lawyer. The report in his opinion was unjust to the Muslims. It did not contemplate good safeguards for them, so on and so forth. The report and other delibrations of the All Parties Conference were attacked in other quarters as well. The attitude of the Government towards it was also indifferent. Placed as we are in India no communal settlement arrived at between the various parties can have any practical value, unless the Government are willing to accept it. And the Government would not be willing to accept any thing against their Imperialist interests, which can only (or at any rate better) be maintained if India remains a house divided in itself. This is a patent truth. No body can blink over it. The All Parties Conference was therefore adjourned *sine die* by Mahatma Gandhi in Calcutta where it was holding its session after Lucknow. However the Calcutta Congress gave an ultimatum to the Government, that if the decisions of the All Parties Conference were not accepted by the Government, within a year, the Congress would start civil disobedience, and ask the people not to pay taxes to the Government.

CHAPTER VI

Conspirators Active

WE now enter into a period of great turmoil and activity. The two civil disobedience movements, the three Round Table Conferences, the Government of India Act, the Congress Governments in eight provinces out of eleven, the resignation of the Congress Governments, suspension of the constitution, the War and the Government repression, activities of the Muslim League and its leader Mr. Jinnah make the thirties one of the most important decades in the political history of India.

The thirties began with the resoundings of Complete Independence Resolution passed by Lahore Congress under the presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Mahatma Gandhi issued an ultimatum to the Government, and there being no response he started his famous Dandi March, was arrested and sent to jail with many other compatriots. Civil disobedience manifesting itself in breaking salt laws, was launched with great enthusiasm and force. Mahatma Gandhi said he would not return to his Sabarmati Ashram without winning complete freedom. Forces of bureaucracy and nationalism came to grips with each other. Ordinance rule coupled with

force of the lathis and bayonets clashed with the non-violence of Gandhi's forces. Non-violence was the only weapon with Gandhi, and his forces were armed to the teeth with it. "Ahimsa", in thought, word and action! What a unique spectacle! And who won? Nobody can accurately answer it. The finest men in Indian public life were picked and clapped into prison. People in their hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands walked into prisons. At places the " rush " to prisons was so great that the prisons failed to accommodate them, and other arrangements had to be made by the authorities.

In the meantime the British Raj called the first Round Table Conference in London. The Indians who were called to attend it as "delegates" were the nominees of the agents of the British Government in India. They represented none but themselves. Neither the provincial nor the Central Legislatures were either consulted or asked to send their representatives. As the Simon Commission was meant to demonstrate to the world that Indians were divided amongst themselves, so was the Round Table Conference designed to show to the world, particularly America that Indians were hopelessly divided amongst themselves and were not fit for self-government. These so-called " Indian representatives " created an orgy there. Muslims set against the Hindus, the Sikhs against the Muslims, the Christians against all, labour against capital, landlord against tenants, princes against states people, in short

it was a case of all against one and one against all, and all against all. To add to it, sometimes there would spring up self-appointed mediators who would attempt to bring about conciliation, but for whose views none cared. The "Indian representatives" played well the game that their masters wanted them to play, and thus they paid for their salt. To use the words of Sardar Sardool Singh Caveeshar the Sikh nationalist "there were wheels within wheels: wire pullers set to administer jerks to different parties from different positions; the result of such machination was that the Conference ended without coming to any definite conclusion."

In India in the meantime, the Congress and the government were measuring with each other their respective strengths. Through the mediations of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, a former Law Member of the Government of India, and Mr. M. R. Jayakar (now Judge of the Federal Court) a "Truce" was brought about between the two "belligerents." Mahatma Gandhi on behalf of the Congress, and Lord Irwin (now Lord Halifax, former Foreign Minister and at present British Ambassador in U. S. A.) as the Viceroy of India signed the pact known as Gandhi-Irwin Pact on 5th March 1931. It was a long agreement dealing with many questions and was ratified at the Karachi Session of the Congress. The political prisoners were "emptied" from prisons, though not all. The reactionary British bureaucrats were very much upset by the pact, which they felt had advanced the

prestige and power of the Congress. It is said that the first draft of the Gandhi-Irwin Truce as drawn up by bureaucratic representatives in the Viceroy's Secretariat was so badly drafted, that when the Viceroy's attention was drawn to it, the honest christian in him ordered the draft to be re-drawn, and the new draft was fundamentally different from the first one.

A most shameful conspiracy to undermine the Congress, and the political advancement of India was hatched by the English bureaucrats with the help of some Indian Princes and some Muslim reactionaries, including Sir Fazali Hussain, an ex-Congressman, who had left the Congress "for a handful of silver and a ribbon to stick to his coat." He held his place in the official circles simply because of his anti-national views. Let us see how this conspiracy worked in India and in England at the time of the second Round Table Conference.

Through the intervention of the Nawab of Bhopal, who had a great influence with all sections of Muslims in India, some sort of compromise was arrived at between the nationalist Muslims and the communalist Muslims, and an agreed national formula was found out. Had it been consummated, the entire mischief would have been undone, because Dr. Ansari was a party to it and he had tremendous and decisive influence in the Congress, and therefore any formula unanimously arrived at by Muslims, would have been necessarily accepted by the Congress through the

influence of Dr. Ansari. But then whom could John Bull use as a pawn or a counterpoise? At the eleventh hour Sir Fazali Hussain, then a member of the Viceroy's Council openly stepped in and wrecked the pourparlours which had been going on first at Bhopal, and finally at Simla in May 1931. He was actively assisted by the Tripartite conspirators namely the suborned Muslims, reactionary bureaucrats and some Princes. The reason why some Muslims like Sir Fazli, and some Princes walked into the camp of the conspirators is not far to seek but is outside our scope.

According to the agreement between Mahatma Gandhi and the Viceroy, Gandhiji consented to attend the Round Table Conference. Lord Irwin had pledged to Mahatma Gandhi that Indian nominations to the Round Table Conference would be made on better basis than in the first Round Table Conference. Gandhiji of course was the sole representative of the Congress. Pandit Malaviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu were to represent nationalist Hindus and women, while Dr. M. A. Ansari, the great Muslim nationalist leader was to represent the nationalist Muslims. Unfortunately Lord Irwin's term of office had expired, and he was succeeded by Lord Willingdon, a thoroughbred bureaucrat, who had been a very unpopular provincial Governor in India before. Under the pressure of the Tripartite Conspiracy Dr. Ansari's name was silently cut off, while the other two Pandit Malaviya and Mrs. Naidu were allowed to be there. Mahatma

Gandhi at once got into correspondence with the Viceroy but to no avail. Gandhiji declined to proceed to Europe. Pandit Malaviya and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu also cancelled their passage in S. S. *the Mooltan.*

The game was crystal clear. The British Government did not want to have a nationalist Muslim in London. He might set at naught their concieved plan of setting the Muslim communalist (as "representing" the entire bulk of Muslim India) against Gandhi, progress and freedom. Mahatma Gandhi was however ill advised and he walked into the trap, followed by Pandit Malaviya and Mrs. Naidu. And they got wiser after the event.

While the Round Table Conference was in Session, the Labour Government of Ramsay Macdonald came to an end and the Tories entered the Parliament in majority. But England was in these days passing through an economic crisis of an unprecedented magnitude. The Government hopelessly failed to check the British capitalists from going bankrupt. But still they wanted to bluff America and the world of their solvency. Gandhiji was addressing a public meeting. Up rose an Englishman : " Mr. Gandhi with your intricate communal and economic problems do you dare say that India will be able to manage her affairs ?" On came the retort : "If English people have got any justification to mismanage their country as they are doing now I claim the same right to mismanage mine." The Englishman was silenced.

This is all besides the point. Now let us proceed to find out how Gandhi was thwarted, and slighted at every step, and what mean machinations were indulged in by reactionary conspirators. It is doubtful if the Labour Government would have treated India better, but with the formation of the so-called National Government the entire outlook and behaviour of the English statesmen suddenly changed. The Round Table Conference had been called to settle the dispute between India's people and British bureaucracy. This main issue was completely eclipsed. It was represented to the world outside that the chief point of difference was between the two major communities of India, one of which wanted freedom, the other out of distrust and fear of the former did not want it! To discredit the demand of the Congress many a silly minor point cropped up. The British Government slipping out from the position of a party in the dispute or more exactly a defendant, took up the stand of a patron and a judge!

The British Government played well their trump card, the communal problem. Mahatma Gandhi again walked into the trap, and there he found himself in hot waters. He was the sole and the real representative of the Indian nation which included the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsees and the so-called depressed classes. The British Government by their cunning, placed him in such a position, where they could show to the world that he represented the majority community *i.e.* Hindus, and was unwilling to

do justice to the minorities. The way in which the manoeuvering had been done was morally sickening. Gandhiji realised it too late. He had to declare that the Conference was not the competent body to settle the communal problem. He challenged the representative capacity of those Indians who had been called by the British Government to attend the Round Table Conference. In the end he tried to expose the mean conspiracy against him and India, but he was too late. The mischief had been very cleverly done, and inspite of all that he could do, some of the mud thrown at him was bound to stick. Hats off to the British statesmen! It should be borne in mind that Mahatma Gandhi was the only accredited representative of the Congress in the Round Table Conference. No other organization in India had sent in any accredited representatives. The other nominees at the Round Table Conference were there because the Viceroy had suffered them to be there. Most of the invitees, were well known for their reactionary views. There are a large number of Hindu and Muslim leaders in this country who are directly responsible for and concerned in the communal bickerings in India, they are the type of persons who are willing to work for their pay masters whosoever they may be. In Indian language they are known as *Khandani Ghulams* (Traditional slaves). People of such mentality were strongly represented at the Round Table Conference.

To further discredit the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi as being incapable of solving the communal

problem, the Viceroy's nominees were worked into forming an alliance known as the Minorities Pact, formed by Muslims' Christians', and depressed classes' so-called "delegates." The minorities pact was trumpeted by British Politicians and journalists from the Prime Minister down to Tom Dick and Harry. It should be interesting to know that the minorities committee of the Round Table Conference consisted of :—

Hindus	10.	British	6.
Muslims	13.	Britishers	2.
Depressed classes	2.	Anglo-Indians	1.
Parsees	1.	Labour	2.
Indian Christians	2.	Women	3.
Sikhs	2.		
		Total ...	44.

What a grand composition! Hindus who form nearly two-thirds of the Indian population were only ten out of 44! Muslims who form one-third were the single largest party with 13 out of 44! And then nine Tweedledums and Tweedledees! 6 British, 2 Britishers, one Anglo-Indian! And all of them nominees of the British Raj!

The thirteen (an evil number) Muslims were known for their reactionary views. They were henchmen of British bureaucracy. The following appearing in *The Daily Herald*, London, September 24, 1931 should be read with interest.

"Behind the scenes of the Round Table Conference the all important private conversations are going on.

"Men like Mr. Gandhi and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru are working hard for agreement, and even stalwart orthodox Hindus like the Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya are by no means obstinate. But the Muslim delegates are proving adamant. If they are regarded as really representative of Muslim opinion in India the chances of success are becoming rather slight. It is more than doubtful, however, whether they are representative. For these Mulim delegates selected by the Government of India, are almost to a man 'communalists'; men who think of themselves as Muslims first and Indians afterwards. There is on the other hand an enormous and growing body of Muslim opinion in India which is very anxious for an understanding with the Hindus and could without difficulty negotiate such a settlement. The nationalist Muslim party, if there were elections tomorrow would probably capture nearly every Muslim seat in the councils. The ardent 'communal' Muslims would be a small minority. But the nationalist Muslims have only one delegate at the Conference—Sir Ali Imam. The communalists have over a dozen. It would be an ironic tragedy if the Conference fails because a handful of

nominated Muslim leaders are far more intransigent than the mass of the community which they profess to represent."

The Muslim communalists, these self-styled leaders of the Mussalmans of India formed a most shameful and extremely unholy alliance with the British Bureaucracy, as is evident from the following "very private and confidental" circular issued by some British reactionaries, after the Round Table Conference was over:—

"We went to London determined to achieve some settlement if we could, but our determination in that regard was tempered with an equal determination that there should be no giving way on any essential part of the policy agreed to by the European Associated Chambers of Commerce in regard to financial and commercial safeguards, and by the European Association on general policy. It was obvious to us, and we had it in mind throughout the Conference that the united forces of the Congress, the Hindu Sabha and the Indian Federated Chambers of Commerce would be directed towards whittling down the safeguards already proposed.

"If you look at the results of this last session you will see that Gandhi and the (Indian) Federated Chambers are unable to point to a single concession wrung from the British Government as the result of their visit to St. James Palace. *He landed in India with empty hands.*

"There was another incident too, which did him no good. He undertook to settle the communal problem and failed before all the world......

"The Muslims were a solid and enthusiastic team: Ali Imam, the nationalist Muslim, caused no division. They played their cards with great skill throughout; they promised us support and *they gave it in full measure.* In return *they asked us* that we should not forget their economic plight in Bengal and we should without pampering them, do what we can to *find places for them in European firms* so that they may have a chance to improve their material position and the general standing of their community.

"On the whole, there was one policy of the British nation and the British community in India and that was to make up our minds on a national policy and to stick to it. *But after the general elections the right wing of the Government made up its mind to break the Conference and to fight the Congress.* The Muslims, who do not want responsibility at the Centre, were delighted. Government undoubtedly changed their policy and tried to get away with provincial autonomy with a promise of Central reforms. We had made up our minds that the fight with the Congress was inevitable: we felt and said that sooner it came the better, but we made up our minds that for a crushing

success *we should have all possible friends on our side. The Muslims were all right: the Minorities Pact and Government's general attitude ensured that.* So were the Princes and the minorities.

"The important thing to us seemed to be to carry the Hindu in the street as represented by such people as Sapru, Jayakar, Patro and others. If we could not get them to fight Congress, we could at least ensure that they would not back Congress, and that by one simple method of leaving no doubt in their mind that there was to be no going back on the Federal Scheme which broadly was also the accepted policy of the European community, and we acted accordingly. We pressed upon the Government that the one substantial earnest of good faith which would satisfy these people was to bring in the provincial and Central constitution in one place. Provincial autonomy could not be forced upon India, the Muslims alone could not work it. Congress provinces, facing a bitter Centre would present grave political difficulties; each province would be a Calcutta Corporation on its own. So we joined with strange companions; Government saw the arguments and the Conference instead of breaking up in disorder with 100 per cent of Hindu political India against us ended in promises of co-operation by 99 per cent of the Conference, including

even such people as Malaviya, while Gandhi himself was indisposed to join the Standing Committee.......

"*The Muslims have become firm allies of the Europeans.* They are very satisfied with their own position and are prepared to work with us.

"It must not, however, bê supposed that when we agree that reforms are necessary, we advocate democratic reform in every province. All that we mean is such change in the system of Government as will improve its efficiency."

This self explanatory "private" document shows beyond doubt that John Bull would not give up his old Minto methods of creating "counterpoise to Congress aims," and using the rank communalist "toady" Mussalman as his pawn. A communalist Mussalman (invariably he is a title holder) is to John Bull:

"My lovely living boy,
My hope, my hap, my love, my life, my joy."

Mahatma Gandhi made all possible efforts to win over the Muslim communalists. He gave them a blank cheque, and accepted practically all their demands: separate electorates and reservation of seats, etc. But the Muslim communalists would not have been worth their salt, if they had presented a common front with Mahatma Gandhi. Moreover, an agreement between Gandhi and the Muslim communalists would have been a great slur on the diplomacy (or machiavellianism) of the British die-hards.

They left no stone unturned to see that Gandhi emerged as a complete failure in solving the communal problem. India shall never forget them for having slighted the greatest Indian in the shameful manner they did. Once a Muslim communalist knight had to be hastily imported to wreck the talks which were about to materialise. The whole game of the British Raj at the Round Table Conference can be summarised as follows:—

1. To bluff India and the world by calling the Round Table Conference to show their genuineness in solving the Indian problem.

2. To nominate as " delegates " some people who hardly had any backing in India, and were known for their reactionary views, and to " dub " these people as " representatives " of Indian public opinion.

3. To show the world that Britain could not loosen her grip over India, because India was a house divided in itself, and there would be bloodshed and civil war in India, or tyranny of the majority community (Hindus) over the minority (Muslims), and by giving freedom to India, Britain shall not be discharging its moral obligations towards the minority (Muslims).

4. To slight and discredit Mahatma Gandhi, and the Congress firstly as not representing the bulk of Indian opinion, secondly as incapable of solving the communal problem, and thirdly as ungenerous towards the minorities.

This they achieved by asking Mahatma Gandhi to deal with adamant rank communalists—traitors to India. And in all this the reactionary die-hards wonderfully succeeded. That an average British politician is a thorough bred hypocrite was proved by the Premier Ramsay Macdonald who as a citizen had proclaimed India's right to freedom as irresistible and just, (and espoused it) and had declared that the Indian communal problem was a creation of British diplomacy to rule this vast continent, but when he became Premier, he only proved by his own example that the security of the British Raj lay in the virile existence of the communal problem, and dealt the worst blow to India by giving his so-called Communal Award, with its bane of separate electorates, safeguards and reservations for vested interests, thus dividing India into water-tight compartments.

Here is the allocation of seats according to the Macdonald Award for provincial legislatures.

Madras : General Seats 134 (including six women); Depressed Classes 18; Representive from backward areas 1; Muhammedans 29 (including one woman); Indians Christians 9 (including one woman); Anglo-Indians 2; Europeans 3; Commerce and Industry, Mining and Planting 6; University 1; Labour 6: Total 215.

Bombay (Including Sind): General Seats 97 (including five women); backward areas 1; Mahomedans 63 (including 1 woman); Indian Christians

3 ; Anglo-Indians 4 (including 2 women) ; Europeans 4 ; Commerce, etc, 8 ; Landholders 3 ; University 1 ; Labour 8 ; Depressed Classes 10. Total 200.

Bengal: General 80 (including 2 women); Depressed Classes nil ; Mahomedans 119 (including 2 women) ; Indian Christians 2 ; Anglo-Indians 4 (including 1 woman) ; Europeans 11 ; Commerce etc. 19 ; Landholders 5 ; University 2 ; Labour 8. Total 250.

United Provinces : General seats 132 (including 4 women) ; Depressed Classes 12 ; Mahomedans 66 (including 2 women) ; Indian Christains 2 ; Anglo-Indians 1 ; Europeans 2 ; Commerce, etc. 3 ; Landholders 6 ; University 1 ; Labour 3 : Total 228.

Punjab : General seats 43 (including 1 woman) ; Sikhs 32 (including 1 women); Mahomedans; 86 (including 2 women) ; Indian Christians 2 ; Anglo-Indian 1 ; European 1 ; Commerce etc. 1 ; Landholders 5 ; University 1 ; Labour 3. Total 175.

Bihar and Orrisa : General seats 99 (including 3 women) ; Depressed Classes 7 ; Representatives from backward areas 8 ; Mahomedans 42 (including 1 woman) ; Indian Christians 2 ; Anglo-Indian 1 ; Europeans 2 ; Commerce etc. 4 ; Landholders 6 ; University 1 ; Labour 4. Total 175.

Central Provinces (including Berar) : General seats 77 (including 3 women) ; Depressed Classes 10 ; Representatives from backward areas 1 ; Mahomedans 14 ; Anglo-Indians 1 ; European 1 ; Commerce

etc. 2; Landholders 3; University 1; Labour 2. Total 112.

Assam: General seats 44 (including 1 woman); Depressed Classes 4; Representatives from backward areas 9; Mahomedans 34; Indian Christian 1; European 1; Commerce etc. 11; Labour 4. Total 108.

North-West Frontier Province: General seats 9; Sikhs 3; Mahomedans 36; Landholders 2. Total 50.

Bombay without Sind: General seats 109 (including 5 women); Depressed Classes 10; Representatives from backward areas 1; Mahomadans 30 (including 1 women); Indian Christians 3; Anglo-Indians 2; Europeans 3; Commerce etc. 7; Landholders 2; University 1; Labour 7. Total 175.

Sind: General seats 19 (including 1 woman); Muhammedans 34 (including 1 women); Europeans 2; Commerce etc. 2; Landholders 2; Labour 1. Total 60.

As regards seats for commerce and industry, mining and planting, it is stated that "composition of bodies through which election of these seats will be conducted though in most cases either predominantly European or predominantly Indian will not be statutorily fixed. It is accordingly not possible in each province to state certainly how many Europeans and Indians respectively will be returned. It is, however, expected that initially the numbers will be approximately as follows :—

Madras: 4 Europeans and 2 Indians; Bombay

(including Sind): 5 Europeans and 3 Indians; Bengal, 14 Europeans and 5 Indians; United Provinces, 2 Europeans and 1 Indian; Punjab, 1 Indian; Bihar and Orissa, 2 Europeans and 2 Indians; Central Provinces (including Berar), 1 European and 1 Indian; Assam, 8 Europeans and 3 Indians; Bombay (without Sind) 4 Europeans and 3 Indians; Sind 1 European and 1 Indian.

As regards allocation of seats for Depressed Classes in Bengal this number which will not exceed ten has not yet been fixed. The number of general seats will be 80, less the number of special Depressed Classes seats.

As regards Landholders' seats in the Punjab, it is stated one of these will be a Zamindars' seat. Four Landholders' seats will be filled from special constituencies with joint electorates. It is probable from distribution of the electorate that members returned will be one Hindu, one Sikh and two Mahomadans.

As regards allocation of one woman's seat among General seats in Assam, it is stated this will be filled from a non-communal constituency at Shillong.

The reception accorded to the Communal Award was different in different quarters.

The Hindus of India to a man were opposed to it. The so-called Award was patently unjust to them. Amongst the Muslims the Award had a mixed reception but the majority of the Muslims were in favour of it either as a temporary make-shift arrangement, prelude to a

mutual settlement, or because of the slight advantages secured by communalists. The Award was a huge mischief played by John Bull, It placed the Congress in a difficult position. It the Congress rejected it off hand, the reactionaries were bound to make capital out of it, by misrepresenting the Congress as inclined towards the Hindus, and jealous of small concessions granted to Muslims. The lion's share however had been secured by the Europeans. The Award in addition to being anti-national and undemocratic, was a piece of strange political arithmetic.

Only to placate the Muslims the Congress took up an attitude of neutrality towards the Award while admitting that it was mischievous, anti-national and undemocratic. The Congress plainly admitted in their resolution that since the majority of Muslims wanted the Award, they would neither reject it nor accept it. The policy of the Congress was rather weak. The Muslim communalist could not possibly be pleased. Communalism is his source of bread. On the other hand the Congress lost the support of the Malaviya group who formed a separate Nationalist Party, and got a good measure of success in the Punjab and Bengal.

CHAPTER VII

Nationalist Muslims Active

THE years 1931 to 1933 also saw a great deal of political tussel between the communalists and nationalist Mussalmans. It is a well-known fact that communalist Mussalmans had completely lost their ground. Leaving aside a few title-holders and few others, the entire Muslim leadership had gone over to the side of nationalism. The Muslim League lived only in name. Its annual session was held in the courtyard of a private house hardly 100 men attending. While the All-India Nationalist Muslim Conference held its session with the greatest enthusiasm and grandeur. It is useful in many respects to review the proceedings of this Conference.

The Conference opened its session at Lucknow on the 18th April, 1931 under the presidency of Mr. Ali Imam. Among the delegates who attended were Dr. Syed Mahmud; Professor Bari; Moulvi Ismail Shah; Mohamed Umar; Dr. Zainulabdin Nadvi; Kazi Ahmad Hussain and 25 others from Behar, Dr. Ansari; Mufti Kifayatullah; Moulvi Ahmad Said; Moulvi Mahomed Sajjad and five others from Delhi, Mr. Tasadduq Ahmed Khan Sherwani; Messrs. Yusuf Imam; Khwaja Abdul Majid; Hafiz Mahomed Ibrahim M. L. C.; Sarfaraz Hussain Bar.-at-law, Fyzabad; Moulvi Ahmad Said of

Partabgarh ; Wajid Ali, Raibareli ; Karimur Raza, Shah Jahanpur; Haider Mehdi ; Moulvi Tufail Ahmad and over a hundred others from different parts of the United Provinces; Moulvis Mujiber Rahman Shamsudin; Azizul Huq ; Syed Jalaluddin Hashemy ; Maulvi Abdul Karim and twenty others from Bengal ; Mr. S. A. Brelvi ; Dr. Rajjabali Patel ; Messrs. Abbas Tyebji ; Meherali ; Imam Bawazir and six others from Bombay ; Seth Yakub Hassan and Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan from Madras ; Mohamed Khan from N.-W. F. P. ; Malik Barkat Ali ; Ferozdin Piracha and several others from the Punjab.

WELCOME ADDRESS

Maulana Kutbuddin Abdul Wali of Feringi Mahal, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates, referred to the loss sustained by India by the deaths of Moulana Mahomed Ali and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and expressed sympathy with their relations in their bereavement.

Proceeding the Moulana explained why he had dissuaded his co-religionists from participating in the Civil Disobedience Movement in his speech at Amroha Conference held last year. The situation was now greatly changed. As a result of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, civil disobedince was a matter of the past and Mr. Gandhi, the accredited leader of the Congress, was trying his best to adjust the Muslim claims, but there were certain Muslim leaders who apparently with a view to impeding a communal settlement, were insisting

on separate electorates which admittedly were detrimental to the growth of Indian nation.

"We are virtually at war with our fellow countrymen. If any group or community wants to come to terms with us we should not reject their offer. Do you think we can afford to fight both our own countrymen and the Government as well? I should think not. Why then should we not make peace with the party that is extending the hand of friendship? If we want to organise the Muslims, is it necessary for that purpose to be perpetually at war with your fellow countrymen? I have not been able to understand why there should ever be talk of civil war. I am sure the recent communal outbreaks are the outcome of provocative speeches. It is regrettable that even after these riots people should indulge in wild language without any consideration of the likely results in loss of life and property. From some speeches it is quite clear that there are some persons who are more keen on a free fight between the communities than on communal settlement.

"This Conference should discuss whether joint or separate electorates would suit Muslims. Both alternatives have been well discussed in the Press. All I want to impress on you is that before the introduction of separate electorates any member elected to the legislature

had to protect the interest of his voters who belonged to the different communities. There are many Hindus in this city who won the election with the help of Muslim votes and naturally were grateful to Muslims for their support but the introduction of new system had brought this to an end and naturally they have now to look after the interest of one particular community. When members are elected by communal constituencies the minority communities are bound to suffer. I am personally in favour of joint electorates with reservation of seats. I consider that a joint electorate is in the interest of Muslims and necessary for the growth of an united Indian nation. Separate electorates and responsible government are two contradictory things and they can never go together. I am in favour of Muslims attending the Round Table Conference, but I want to make two things clear. First, Mussalmans should not forget that the grievances for which they started non-co-operation in 1921 still remain unheeded. Secondly, Muslims should not agree to a form of government which did not place in our control the army and finance."

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Addressing the Conference Sir Ali Imam said that the big gathering reminded him of the Morley-Minto Reform days when the number of the supporters

of the joint electorate scheme barely exceeded the number of fingers in a man's hand. He himself belonged to that school of political thought which laid great stress on separate electorate and was in fact a member of the deputation that waited on Lord Minto in 1905, but in the interval between 1905 and 1909 he had time to carefully study the question and he had definitely come to the conclusion that the separate electorate was not only a negation of Indian nationalism but also positively harmful to Muslims themselves. As early as 1909 he had raised the voice of protest against separation but at that time his views were condemned both in the press and on the platform by Muslims almost to a man.

MUSLIM DEMAND FOR JOINT ELECTORATES

Now after 22 years he found himself in the presence of a gathering of Muslims representative not only of all the provinces of India but also of several powerful organisations and virtually the entire Muslim intelligentsia. The Conference represented Muslim nationalists, in other words people who were not wedded to schemes of separation. The march during the last 20 years had been simply flooded with messages from every corner of India from different leaders who one and all insisted on the basic principle of joint electorates. Such a trend of events was extremely gratifying and showed that Muslims of India were not behind any other community in upholding the banner of a common and united Indian

nation. "I venture to prophesy," said Sir Ali Imam "that this movement among Indian Muslims will gather force which no power on earth can thwart. There is no need to despair. Time and tide are with us."

SEPARATE ELECTORATES A NEGATION OF NATIONALISM

Proceeding Sir Ali Imam said one had only to take note of the sufferings and trials of Muslim nationalists in the last two years to know the contribution that Muslims had made in the recent struggle for freedom. In to-day's gathering there were many who had unflinchingly and cheerfully borne the troubles that fell to the lot of all lovers of their country, and it was impossible that their sacrifices would go in vain. "If I were asked why I have such abiding faith in Indian nationalism my answer is that without that India's freedom is an impossibility. Separate electorate connotes the negation of nationalism. Political problems are but a reflex of social forces. If you erect an iron wall between community and community in politics, you destroy the social fabric and day to day life will become insupportable if you insist on building political barriers. Nationalism can never evolve from division and dissensions.

Consider the implications of separatist clauses in the constitution. The plea is that the Muslims are numerically inferior, deficient in education and economically backward. The argument then is developed

and it is asserted that they would never succeed at the polls in the face of powerful Hindu opposition. It is taken for granted that every Hindu is a potential enemy of Muslims. I do not believe in these generalities but should they be assumed true what are the logical inferences? They are firstly that the Muslim is too weak to look after himself, secondly, the Hindu as enemy is relentless and finally the necessity for protective clauses in the constitution. I do not believe that such protective clauses will afford any protection unless they had some sanction behind them. If a Muslim cannot protect himself and a Hindu will not protect him, then the sanction must rest in a third party. Is not that a negation of nationalism? Does it not show that the separatist notion is based upon support which cannot be found in this country and this tentamounts to perpetuation of tutelage? Is it surprising then that the nationalist Muslim who cherishes the idea of freedom scorns to subscribe to the embodying of a separatist clause in the constitution?

"There is a school of thought that is desirous of implementing joint electorates with conditions. These have been referred to as reservation of seats, weightage, etc. Here again my personal view is that those are snares and on examination will lead to the inevitable result of the imperative presence of some extraneous authority. I take the liberty to impress upon you the obvious neccessity of taking the straight course of insisting upon joint electorates undisfigured by

conditions and hedgings. So much is said about the share of the Indian Muslim in concession loot. I do not believe that his share can be fixed by statute. His share will be in proportion to the contribution he makes towards the obtaining and maintaining of India's freedom. The Mussalman has nothing to fear. The stalwarts of the North-Western Frontier and the teeming millions of Bengal and the Eastern Frontier are his inviolable security in national India. In the future of India there will be no place for Hindu Raj or Muslim Raj. The sovereignty of the people of India will be broadbased upon patriotism unalloyed by taints of communalism. That should be your goal and towards that end you should make your sacrifices."

Continuing, Sir Ali Imam said that a new political orientation was clearly manifest among the people of the North-Western Frontier. That was a sure sign of nationalistic solidarity which was fast developing in India. There was another source of hope, namely, that even in limited joint electorates, such as universities and chambers of commerce, the communal factor was quickly disappearing. In his own Province of Bihar there were recent instances of the election of Moulvi Abdul Hafiz and Mr. Ali Mansar which clearly showed that the character and capacity of the candidates had successfully overcome communal prejudices. They had both been returned, one to the Provincial Council and the other to the University Senate by overwhelming Hindu votes against strong Hindu candidates. 'Once there were free joint electorates

the character, capacity and personal lead of the candidates would surely overtop communal prejudice. The world has progressed too far, to have any other code of political conduct. It was true that only recently terrible tragedies had been enacted at Benares, Mirzapur, Agra and Cawnpore. There were many who believed that they were due to agents provocateur. Others believe they were brought about by the goonda element of either community. This was not the place to determine what was at the root of these disastrous happenings. He earnestly hoped they were ugly matters of past. It was a matter of regret that there should be serious endeavour to make political capital out of them. All efforts should be diverted to prevent these repetitions and to wipe off bitterness engendered by them.

This was the psychological moment for India and the plain duty of all Indians was to restore communal harmony and not to give handle to the Churchill Group to obstruct the introduction of great constitutional reforms that were in sight.

TRIBUTE TO DEPARTED LEADERS

The first resolution, which was put from the Chair and carried unanimously, recorded profound sorrow at the deaths of Maulana Mahomed Ali and Pandit Motilal Nehru who had rendered great service to the country and whose presence at the present juncture would have been a source of great strength to the cause of Indian nationalism.

MUSLIMS' PART IN SATYAGRHA

The second resolution, which was also put from the Chair and carried unanimously, ran as follows :—

"This Conference, while congratulating the nation on the splendid sacrifices it made in the recent struggle for freedom, notes with gratification the fact that the part played by the Muslim community, in particular the Muslims of the Frontier Province was quite in keeping with its tradition in as much as over 12,000 Muslims went to jail and a large number of them lost their lives and limbs and suffered in other ways, thus vindicating the honour of their co-religionists who are determined not to lag behind any other community in the fight for national freedom."

Mr. Abdul Rahim of Calcutta supporting the motion associated himself with Mr. Brelvi's remarks. The resolution was carried without opposition.

COMMUNAL RIOTS

The last resolution occasioned a prolonged debate. It ran as follows :—

"This Conference while strongly condemning the communal riots which occurred in Benares, Agra and Cawnpore and other places causing enormous loss of innocent life and property and dereliction of duty on the part of officials on these occasions particularly at Cawnpore, offers its heart felt sympathies to the families of those who fell victims to the communal frenzy, and pays a tribute to the rare patriotic sacrifices of Mr. Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi.

"This Conference appeals to all communities not to be influenced by the wicked propaganda carried on by certain communal leaders in connection with these tragic incidents, who were thus attempting to rekindle the dying fire.

Malik Barkat Ali, moving the resolution, bitterly criticised the provocative speeches which were being made by certain communal leaders in connection with these tragic incidents and were thus attempting to rekindle the dying fire.

Moulana Zaffar Ali deplored that any person worth the name of leader should deem it advisable to enter into a controversy on the most horrible details of the Cawnpore riot in order to foster the spirit of communal bitterness when every ounce of energy should be devoted towards the re-establishment of harmony and amity.

Moulvi Zafar Husssin Wasti, supporting the resolution moved an amendment to the effect that members of either community should be appealled to abstain from attributing acts of vandalism and incendiarism committed by mischief mongers and misguided fanatics of the opposite camp.

The amendment was after a brief discussion adopted.

Moulvi Shahid of Allahbad proposed a second amendment urging that all cases arising out of communal rioting should be withdrawn. He said that he had not the slightest intention to protect scoundrels

to whatever community they belonged, but the misfortune was that the real mischief-makers in the communal troubles could seldom be brought to book. They were far too cunning to be caught red handed, and often operated from behind the scene. The police could at best get hold of comparatively harmless fools who courted detection and were the worst sufferers.

Seth Yakub Hussan of Madras supported Moulvi Shahid's amendment but Mr. Yakub Ali Khan of Agra, opposing it, suggested that energetic enquiries should be made and the wrong-doers should be awarded exemplary punishments.

The last speaker got little support, and Moulvi Shahid's amendment was adopted by a majority.

Mr. A. Rahim of Calcutta proposed another amendment calling upon all Indians to raise funds to relieve the distressed and inviting volunteers and social workers to serve and help the looted and bereaved victims.

Mr. Rahim further urged that a committee of this Conference be appointed forthwith to give immediate relief to the Hindus and Muslims alike and to rebuild mosques and compensate for temples destroyed.

Dr. A. Karim of Benares, seconding the amendment said that such a committee would be useful in counteracting the mischief caused by the communal parties which went to the disturbed areas professing to render assistance to sufferers, but in reality were only rousing further bitter feelings and spreading the gospel of revenge.

The amendment was adopted and the resolution with its three amendments was carried without any opposition.

Dr. Mohd. Alam next moved that the Conference condemned the action of the Government in forbidding Moulana Mohamed Ishaque and Moulana Mohamed Irfan from entering the North-West Frontier. The mover said that both the Moulanas were ardent national workers who were being penalised for their intense love of the country by being forcibly kept back from their homes in the Frontier for the last twelve years.

The resolution after a brief discussion was passed.

SUPPORT FOR JOINT ELECTORATES

Dr. M. A. Ansari then moved the resolution regarding the method of representation on the legislatures, which he emphasised was the resolution that had attracted the present gathering. The following is the text :—

" Having secured general agreement in regard to the following matters which affect the interests of the nation at large :—

(1) that there shall be a provision of fundamental rights in the constitution guaranteeing to all citizens protection of their culture, language, script, education, profession and practice of religion, religious endowments and economic interests ;

(2) that the fundamental rights and personal

laws shall be effectively protected by specific provision to be embodied in the constitution;

(3) that the future constitution of the country shall be federal and residuary powers shall vest in the federating units ;

(4) that all appointments shall be made by the Public Services Commission according to the minimum standard of efficiency without, at the same time, depriving any community of its fair share in the services, and in the case of lower grades no monopoly shall be permitted ;

(5) that Sind shall be constituted into a separate province ;

(6) that the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan shall have exactly the same form of government and administration as the other provinces in British India.

"The Nationalist Muslim Party strongly holds that the settlement of the outstanding questions relating to the measure and method of representation in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures should be based on the following principles: (*a*) universal adult franchise, (*b*) joint electorates, (*c*) reservation of seats in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures on a population basis for minorities of less than 30 per cent with a right to contest additional seats.

"Having regard however to the present unfortunate position of the country particularly the propaganda carried on by a body of Mussalmans as well as attitude of a certain section of other communities, and with a desire to secure a speedy settlement and create a peaceful atmosphere in the country, the Nationalist Muslim Conference is prepared to negotiate for a settlement of the outstanding questions on the basis of joint electorates and adult franchise.

In moving the resolution Dr. Ansari observed :— "Gentlemen, I need hardly remind you of the immense responsibilty that devolves on you during the deliberations, and of the great significance which would attach to every step you might decide to take. The destiny of our dear Motherland no less than the destiny of the great cultural heritage which has come down to us Musalmans, is involved. Hardly have men ever met to decide such momentous issues so consciously and deliberately. Time itself seems to watch us with suspended breath.

"We are at the first successful stage in a great fight for the liberation of our people, a fight which due to the nature of its peaceful and non-violent heroïsm is without parallel in the history of humanity. But it is just a first stage and there is real danger that inner discord engineered by interested parties might deprive us of the fruits of victory.

"It is an open secret, Gentlemen, that these

interested parties are showing sign of feverish activity communal riots have broken out almost out of nothing, and some people seem to be developing with alarming ·apidity an unhealthy taste for dangerous emotional outbursts and delirious moods which are normally not a very becoming form of indulgence. An atmosphere is being created in which the central problem of Indian political life, an understanding and readiness to co-operate between the two great sister communities of India is daily becoming more difficult to solve. I appeal to you, gentlemen, to strain every nerve to see that these mischievous designs are readily thwarted.

" You are, no doubt, aware of the efforts which the Nationalist Muslim Party made to come to an understanding with other schools of Muslim political thought in order to pave the way for a settlement conducive to the best interests of our country and our community.

" I deliberately say, 'country and community' for I wish to give the lie direct to accusations impertinently made against nationalist Musalmans that they do not have the interests of Islam at heart. Our accusers should know that it is the spiritual catholicity of our religious faith which has declared in a set of common ideals the brotherhood of man and the supreme shallowness of narrow bigotry that gives us the strength to take up the whole as against the piecemeal point of view. Basing, as we do, the claims of our community on justice, the conflict of country and community does not arise. It is only when the essentially un-Islamic tendency of sectional interests asserts

itself and finds expression in the desire to retire tortoise-like in a shell that the conflict becomes manifest. We are surely not worse Mussalmans because we refuse to turn our faith into a greedy superstition or an ignoble exercise in political hide and seek, or because we take from it the inspiration of our lives and bring them to the service of the country in which Providence has destined us to live and serve. Our Nationalism is part of our loyalty of our faith and not a betrayal or an infidelity.

"Excuse me, gentlemen, for this digression which was necessary in order to repudiate the mischievous attempts to misrepresent our point of view in Indian politics. You are aware, I was saying of the sincere efforts we made to come to a common agreement with other schools of Muslim political thought. You know the result. In spite of all our attempts at accommodation and in spite of the assured possibility of a great measure of agreement on important issues, the conversations broke on the joint-separate electorate issue.

"This is not the occasion to expiate on the absolute necessity of joint electorates for the growth of a united nationhood. I am speaking to Mussalmans just now and I wish to tell the Muslim community through you that, apart from wider national considerations, the insistence on separate electorates would prove suicidal to the continuance of the Mussalmans in this country as a political and cultural force of any significance.

" Politically, separate electorates are bound to prove the most effective method of perpetuating and accentuating communal bitterness and sectional exclusiveness. Knowing the case with which in a democracy demagogues can play on the passion and fanaticism of the people, separate electorates cannot but prove most potent means of closing the door to the mutual understanding and appreciation by the representatives, and of ruling out agreement by negotiation on matters even of common concern.

" And what does this imply for the Mussalmans ? It implies in the provinces where the Mussalmans are in a minority and in India as a whole, the absolute impossibility of their being at all effective as a political force in spite of the weightage that it might get. It implies political impotence, with consequent bitterness, sense of futility, demoralisation, ruin !

" In the majority provinces, except where the majority be preponderating, it implies instability, lack of initiative, weak handling of all situations on account of a constant fear of defeat by a determined irreconcilable opposition returned by an intolerant electorate just to oppose !

" If there is anybody anywhere anxious to see the Mussalmans reduced to absolute ineffectiveness in Indian politics, he must laugh in his sleeves at their own curious insistence on a measure so obviously calculated to bring about that result.

" Culturally, the anxiety to hedge themselves round

with impregnable walls would, I fear, result in a false sense of security which would rob the community of its dynamic cultural force and would mean fossilisation and decay. Those who, like me, look back with pride on the great cultural contribution of the Mussalmans to Indian life and who hope to see the Mussalmans play a still more important role in the free India of the future, cannot but view with dismay the assiduous attempt—by some Mussalmans as the irony of things would have it—to remove all possibilities of fruitful contact and appreciation which a group with a living culture and a message should be only too anxious to cultivate. Those who by means of separate electorates seek to ensure the existence of Mussalmans as a cultural entity in this country seem to have no notion of the dynamic possibilities of the culture they claim to love. They would unconsciously help to preserve it as a dead specimen in a museum of antiquities. But I believe that Muslim culture in India is a living and life-giving force and would not suffer this ossification at the hands of its ignorant, albeit, well-meaning admirers.

Those being the political and cultural implications of separate electorates and of the self-diffident mental attitude behind their demand, who would accuse us of not having the best interests of the Muslim community at heart if we ask the Mussalmans to refuse to be lured into a trap which some self-seeking men have laid for them and to which a number of honest but mistaken Mussalmans are leading them by their

drum beating? It would be uselsss to try to convince the former of the unholy nature of their enterprise. They die hard but they should know that the growing political consciousness among the Mussalmans and the realisation of their great cultural mission in Indian life would not long tolerate this self-aggrandisement to play with Muslim destiny.

"But it would be idle to deny that there is a body of honest opinion on their side represented by men who have grown grey in the service of Islam and of India. I am confident they would soon see through the lure. I respectfully appeal to them in the name of Islam and of India—both of which, I know, are as dear to them as they are to me—to see if the course they have been led to support, really and effectively protects the interests of the Mussalmans and if it can ever help to create that sense of common citizenship which is essential for all political advancement in the country. If it does neither, I do sincerely hope that they would not be led away by appeals to passion made by harping on matters absolutely irrelevant to the issues in dispute.

"I am perfectly willing to admit that their anxiety to secure certain safeguards and guarantees for the Muslim community in the future constitution of the country are genuine and I need hardly assure them that so far as the nationalist Muslims are concerned, they will do their best to press all such genuine demands. But they would be no party to a demand for separate

electorates which, it is their considered opinin, would prove highly dangerous both for the country and for the community.

" Gentlemen, the times ahead of us are sure to prove anxious times. Great issues are involved. There would be honest difference of opinion. There would be deliberately dishonest manipulations of the situation. There would be reasoned and dispassionate discussion and argument and there would be calumny and invective. Conscious of the justice of your position let us proceed with calm faith and fortitude, unruffled by contumely and oblivious of abuse. It is a difficult task; but all that is great is difficult and the process of the making of a great nation in which we are privileged to help cannot be a simple walk down a primrose path to the sound of flutes.

MR. SHERWANI SECONDS RESOLUTION.

Mr. Tassadduq Sherwani supporting the resolution, said that it was so worded as to leave scope for negotiation with other Muslims who did not see eye to eye with the Nationalists. The resolution embodied the cardinal basic rights of all Indians irrespective of caste or creed. With one vital exception the resolution included demands put forward by other schools of Muslim thought. The exceptional clause was that insisting on joint-electorates. The advocates of separation wanted to erect insurmountable barriers between Muslims and other communities.

To this the Nationalists could never consent. The evil effect of separate electorates was apparent from the fact that the spirit of separatism was penetrating among the Muslims themselves. Votes were being canvassed on the basis of a candidate being a Mirza or a Pathan, Qureshi or Ansari, Shiah or Sunni. That distinction between caste and caste which ruined the Hindus was creeping into the democratic Muslim ranks. Under any democratic institution the Government was bound to be in the hands of the majority. If the electorates were separate, the minority groups were sure to be the worst sufferers, Under the present scheme it was possible for 30 fanatic Muslims being pitted against 70 equally fanatic non-Muslims and the latter could conveniently ignore the former but in a joint electorate scheme, no candidate aspiring for election could with equal convenience ignore even fifteen per cent of the voters. Whoever had personal experience of running elections could corroborate that even a single vote could not be ignored by the prospective candidate. Politically the minorities would be more powerful under a separate electorate scheme embellished with weightage.

At this stage, Mr. Sherwani was interrupted by a visitor who enquired whether Mr. Sherwani was saying this inspite of the Cawnpore incidents.

Mr. Sherwani retorted that Cawnpore was the outcome of separatism. He pointed out Mr. Hasrat Mohani, and said that Mr. Hasrat Mohani and his

friends who insisted on separate electorates should be called to account for such tragedies.

Mr. Hasrat Mohani immediately asserted that he was not an advocate of separate electorates.

Mr. Sherwani, proceeding, said that the separate electorates scheme was being utilised by interested parties for their own benefit. He cited an instance of five Muslim members being returned to the Assembly in 1925 in spite of the fact that they knew not how to write either Urdu or English.

MR. MEHAR ALI'S AMENDMENT

Mr. Mehar Ali (Bombay) moved an amendment urging omission of the clause relating to reservation of seats for minorities on a population basis. He quoted the example of the Parsis of Bombay who formed barely five per cent of the population but were always returned in large numbers to all elected bodies. He thought that the reservation clause was added to placate communalists and that the communalist was a walking plague and there was no place for him in the modern world.

Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, opposing the amendment pointed out that reality always fell short of the ideal. As a nationalist he was no believer in reservation, but deemed it expedient to include the clause in the constitution.

Mr. Yusuf Hassan, supporting the amendment said that fifteen years back he was turned out from this very

hall for opposing separate electorates. He would again risk that, and strongly oppose all silly reservations.

Mr. Hasrat Mohani, with the permission of the President rose to support the amendment, although he was not a delegate. He expressed wonder that a nationalist like Dr. Ansari should deem it fit to include in the resolution a communal clause insisting on reservation. It gave rise to the suspicion that even nationalists were not sure of minority interests being saved unless artificially protected by reservation. Such an attitude lent support to the views expressed by some that Shia Mussalmans favoured joint electorates with reservations because they were an interested party to the extent that they had a better chance to get elected from a joint constituency than from a communal constituency.

Mr. Hasrat Mohani assured the Conference that he was always a nationalist and the resolution minus the reservation clause had his whole-hearted support. He added that he never believed in half measures. He was either a communist or a communalist and nothing in between.

DR. ALAM'S APPEAL

Speaking immediately after Mr. Hasrat Mohani, Dr. Alam admitted that reservation was not an ideal thing to be embodied in the constitution, but for the sake of general agreement the Subjects Committee had recommended the retention of the clause in the resolution. He failed to understand why this alone

should upset Mr. Hasrat Mohani and his friends. If Mr. Hasrat Mohani believed in a free India, republican or otherwise, his place was in the Nationalist camp and not with those who obstructed the attainment of freedom.

Mr. Hasrat Mohani: I am with you if you do not talk of reservation.

After a prolonged discussion Mr. Mehrali's amendment was rejected, and the resolution as moved was adopted amidst cheers.

CHAPTER VIII.

Nationalist Muslims *Versus* Communalists.

TO understand still further, the relative position and strength of the Nationalist and communalist Muslims we deem it necessary to reproduce a 'Manifesto' (so called, but really it was a petition to the British Government) issued by some communalist Mussalmans well known for their reactionary views and their loyalty of which they make a good demonstration in the document. The least that we feel inclined to say about this 'Manifesto' is that it was most insulting and humiliating to the great Muslim Community. It ridiculed the Mussalmans not only in the eyes of the rest of the Islamic world, but also before every freedom loving people in the world. The manifesto was an appeal to the British Prime Minister, to be considered by him in giving his so called 'Award,' (which had not yet been given).

Here is the clumsy piece as it appeared in the *Statesman* of Calcutta and the *Times* of London. In the London version some amendments were made by H. H. the Aga Khan.

"It seems probable that within a comparatively short time hence, His Majesty's Government will seriously undertake the task of propounding a settlement of the Indian communal problem.

"In doing so, the Government will naturally have to be influenced by many complex and important considerations, ranging over the whole vast field of Indian politics and sociology, not concentrating on only local detail or party interest at the cost of a true perspective of the Indian sub-continent.

"For this reason we wish to make it clear at the outset that despite inimical suggestions to the contrary, the well-known Moslem claims are not based solely on local or provincial prejudices or ambitions, but are inspired by the belief that their endorsement and constitutional ratification are essential to the peaceful security of the Moslem community's position in India. Were this not true our claims regarding the community's rights in the Punjab and Bengal, in the North-West Frontier Province and in Sind, would hardly have received the warm support given them by Moslems in territories as remote therefrom as Madras and the Central Provinces. And we assert most emphatically that the ratification of our claims in the next constitution is necessary also to the peace and therefore, the general welfare of India, since the neglect of such an opportunity of giving them effect both peaceably and permanently can only introduce an era of suspicion and internecine strife in India at the very time when those evils are most to be deplored.

"We would even suggest that those who have honest doubts of the justice of our claims should consider whether their consciences would not suffer more from their bequest to India of enduring communal bitterness and strife than from the concession to 70,000,000 Moslems of a position a trifle stronger than that to which they may seem to be entitled by political logic.

"That we ourselves cannot thus depreciate our claims must be obvious from a study of the distribution of India's peoples. Our claims particularly concern Bengal, the Punjab, Sind, the Frontier Province and Baluchistan.

"In these Provinces the Moslems form the majority of the population. In Sind, Baluchistan and the N.-W. F. Province our majorities are great. But in Bengal and the Punjab there are very strong Hindu minorities. And though there is a considerable Moslem minority in the United Provinces, in all other parts of British India the Hindus are in a vast majority and inevitably enjoy complete political supremacy.

"The vast majority of the Indian Princes, moreover, are Hindus, and in the Federal India the Princes will be able to influence all-India affairs to an extent now impossible.

"We cannot and will not begrudge the Hindus such supremacy in places where they are plainly

entitled to it and exercise it justly, if they in turn will concede the Moslems, similar supremacy where the Moslems are entitled to it. But we must both begrudge and bitterly contest Hindu supremacy anywhere and everywhere in India, in the interests of our community at large, if we are denied our rights where those rights are incontestable.

"We could have allowed our claims to rest on these grounds alone had not the Hindus counterclaimed that in all discussions of the rights of the various communities the Hindus' superiority of education and wealth should be given marked consideration. It is news to us that popular constitutions are now-a-days based on such arguments as will prevail over the innate commonsense of the British public. But lest undue attention be paid to them anywhere, we would use against them *certain facts of which the Moslems in India are justly proud.*

"(1) The number of Moslem soldiers serving in the Indian Army exceeds all proportion to the Moslem population of India. During the Great War, the Indian Moslems made handsome response to the King Emperor's call for troops, and their soldiers *fought* under the greatest hardships *against co-religionists* having affinities with them, no less than against the German forces.

"Englishmen have often said that in the War the Punjab was bled white, and the great majority of the Punjab troops were Moslems. So is the vast majority of the Police, Militia and Frontier Constabulary who are charged with the protection of law and order in the North-West Frontier Province and India's boundaries and Baluchistan, where they are constantly exposed to conflict with their kith and kin.

"(2) The Moslems took little part in the Congress campaign of 1930, save in the North-West Frontier Province where the "Red Shirts" were regrettably duped into accepting the Congress banner for a struggle begun independently of Congress, and now ended in the triumph of justice over Congress intrigue. In the present Congress campaign, the Moslems have been openly hostile to the seditionists and are no more sympathetic with their activities.

"To claim special consideration on this ground alone might seem to be priggish but for our own part we assert that the Moslems' abstinence from Congress politics has been inspired not by hopes of gain therefrom—for bitter experience gives us a contrary lesson—but chiefly because they have equally nothing to gain from the substitution of a Hindu Congress despotism for the present

regime, and they recognize that Congress politics only spell the economic ruin of India, Hindus and Moslems alike.

"(3) Not one of the 'political' murders or attempts of murder committed in any of the governors' provinces throughout the last two years or more has been done by a Moslem. The three murderers of Mr. Saunders and Chanan Singh in Lahore were Hindus. The murderers of Mr. Lowman, Col. Simpson, Mr. Garlick, Mr. Stevens, Mr. Peddie and Mr. Douglas were Hindus. So were the criminals who attempted the lives of the Governors of Bombay, the Punjab and Bengal, and of Mr. Villiers, Mr. Cassells, and Sir Charles Tegart. All the suspects mentioned in connection with the attempt on Lord Irwin's life, the murder of Mr. Peddie and a host of similar crimes, have been Hindus. The Chittagong raiders and Khan Bahadur Asanullah's murderers were Hindus.

"A study of political agitation and crime even during the period 1907 to 1917, when Moslem feeling was more than once aroused against the Government, shows that the proportion of Moslems to Hindus notoriously involved was about 1 in 30. Nor can we recall that a single Moslem newspaper ever returned a word of sympathy for any of the

political murderers of the last two years whereas the Hindu Congress Press for several months indulged in systematic glorification of every such criminal when he met his deserts."

"We recapitulate these well-known facts for the reasons already given, and for no other. We believe that if the alternative to British rule were the ubiquitous supremacy of Hindu rule, the mass of our Moslem brethren would prefer the former not only because of the safeguards offered by its impartiality, but also because under the alternative system there would be heinous strife between the virile and martial Moslem races and those many Hindus in whom the Congress Left wing has sown the seed of insidious conspiracy, and rebellion, blood-lust and lawlessness. But it is the purpose of His Majesty s Government to give India federal responsibility with an equitable and just distribution of power and some guarantee of stability. If the determination of the various communities' political rights is a matter of great complexity and delicacy as we know it to be, and if the British people value the friendship of at least one fifth of the people of India, then we suggest that when the rival claims of the two great communities are weighed against one another,

His Majesty's Government and the people should also weigh in the same scales the communities' *relative merits of loyalty* and stability as proved by the facts of recent Indian history."

THE AGA KHAN'S AMENDMENT

H. H. the Aga Khan, interviewed by *Reuter* in London with reference to the above Manifesto published in the *Times* stated that the Manifesto was sent to him recently with a request to arrange its publication in England in a form meeting with the Aga Khan's approval. He accordingly exercised his discretion in amending the text as published in England, but owing to a misunderstanding in the telegraphic messages the Manifesto was prematurely published in India before his views had been fully communicated. The only version for which the Aga Khan took responsibility was that published in the *Times* in which the strong attack against the Hindus had been eliminated. The Aga Khan emphatically disowned such sentiments while concurring with the Manifesto as a whole. The Aga Khan amended the offending message as follows:—

"It is well known that Muslims have not participated in acts of political violence which have been so unhappily rife in Bengal, the Punjab and other Governors' provinces. The cult of revolutionary anarchy has never appealed to them successfully nor has the Muslim Press

joined the Hindu Congress Press in a systematic glorification of political murderers when they met with the penalty for their crimes."

No word need be added about the insulting and humiliating character of the communalist Muslims' petition to the British Government. Apart from painting the Indian Mussalman as a greedy sycophant, it was a perversion of truth in many other respects. Self-respecting Muslims felt that it had hurt their pride. The Nationalist Muslims, the Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, the Ahrars and others jointly issued a most crushing and conclusive rejoinder. It should serve as an eye opener to many; and would also show from what fulcrum and lever the communalists hop about.

REPLY OF NATIONALIST MUSLIMS AND JAMIAT

"A lengthy statement purporting to be signed by some members of the Muslim Conference and emanating from Simla has recently appeared in the Press. Another version of it, amended by His Highness the Aga Khan, appears to have been published in England. We have the former statement before us. The signatories have couched their own views in a language calculated to mislead those who are unacquainted with the realities of the Indian situation in India and abroad, into the false belief that these views are held by all the Mussalmans of India. Had these worthies made it clear that they were ventilating their personal

views and had they not exposed a majority of the Mussalman community to humiliation, we would not have taken the trouble to take any serious notice of the utterances, particularly at a time when the country is passing through a crisis and the public mind is exercised by matters of moment, such as the poignant ordeal of tens of thousands, nearly eighty five thousands of whom, men and women, old and young, educated and uneducated are languishing in prisons. We have been constrained by the extra-ordinary claims made by these gentlemen, to issue this statement to reveal the true state of affairs to save the Indian Mussalmans from being lowered in the estimation of foreign nations and particularly the Mussalmans of the world.

"It is natural that at a time when far reaching changes are imminent, India, like other countries of the world should have groups and parties professing different political aims, habituated as it is by followers of various creeds. But it is possible to classify the various schools of thought, now in existence in India, along political or communal lines in the following manner :—

"1. There are political groups among the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims who lack confidence in their inherent strength and who hesitate to place any trust in the sense of justice and toleration in other communities. These groups are constantly engaged in putting forward their

peculiar claims and do not hesitate to adopt unworthy methods of propaganda. They profess to be proud of ultra-loyal services to the British and without any sense of shame declare their willingness to remain permanently under British rule. They are past masters of vocal and written propaganda and hope to reach their goal by these devices.

"2. The second category, into which certain members of almost every community may be grouped has for its aim the change of the present system of government by argument, persuasion and negotiation. They certainly stand on a higher level and demand a constitution that may satisfy all communities and make Indians masters in their home. While the field of the practical achievement of this group remains strictly limited, it sympathises with movements for the freedom of the country even when they are launched by those with whom it may not be in agreement as regards the methods and manner of their achievement. Followers of this creed are in no way less numerous among the Mussalmans than among the Hindus and the Sikhs. It may, however, be noted that neither of the two above mentioned groups wield any appreciable influence among the masses.

"3. The third school of thought in every community has the fullest confidence in the inherent powers of the people and their followers form the

bulk of the population. It aims at attaining Self-Government at the earliest opportunity and its principles include the following :—

(*a*) Interest of no class or community should be subordinated to the interests of any other and all should have the satisfaction of governing their country.

(*b*) Every community should have gaurantees of protection of its political, religious, economic and cultural rights against every other community and should have assurance of freedom from domination by any community or country.

(*c*) The Federal government should be fully responsible, with freedom to determine India's relations with other countries, and the federating Provinces should be fully autonomous, the North-West Frontier Province being placed on the same footing as other Provinces.

(*d*) There should be a redistribution of Provinces on the principle of self-determination by people bound by ties of common language, culture and economic interests, such as the people of Sind, Orissa and other areas to which the above principle may apply.

(*e*) The cost of administration should be reduced to the minimum to suit economic capacity of the country.

(*f*) The peasants and labourers should have their proportionate share in the government of the country.

"The Indian National Congress also stands committed to these principles and counts amongst its adherents, followers of this political creed among all communities whom for all intents and purposes it represents. Those who believe in non-violently resorting to direct action against the decision of an irremoveable executive have in thousands courted sufferings and imprisonments in vindication of their rights and the number of Mussalmans who have acted in this way has not been considerably disproportionate.

"The Mussalmans belonging to the last mentioned category claim that they have political distinction which is not shared by other communal groups placed in the same position. While a large enough number of them directly belonging to the Congress are consequently committed to the political creed of that body, there are others who while fully supporting the Indian National Congress have retained their distinct individuality. The All-India Jamait-ul-Ulema represents the last mentioned section and constituted as it is by Moslem theologians, it commands the allegiance of by far the largest bulk of the Moslem population of India as evidenced by the overwhelming response which it has evoked from Indian Mussalmans from time to time and the latest demonstration of which was made on the 10th June throughout India. The Nationalist

Moslems, the greatest majority of whom belong to the Congress count among their adherents an influential section of Moslem intelligentsia. The Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, although a distinct organisation, has for its object the achievement of complete Independence, which it has practically pursued so far and which does not appear to have been the object of practical realisation for any other distinctly communal organisation in India. In the movement of 1930—31 a large number of the office-bearers and members of both the Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Hind and the Nationalist Moslem party suffered imprisonment and *no less than fourteen thousand Mussalmans went to jail*, while some hundreds of them lost their lives. In the present movement also, thousands of Mussalmans have gone to jail, including some four hundred Ulemas ; and a very considerable number of Frontier Mussalmans have lost their lives. It is claimed, not without justification, that the bulk of those Mussalmans who have participated in the present movement have done so in response to the call of the Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Hind in support of the Congress movement.

"This represents as close an analysis of the situation as is consistent with facts and it is hoped that it will help people in India and abroad to form a more just view of the outlook of Indian Mussalmans. We are under no circumstances apprehensive of any aggressivness on the part of any community under the constitution which we have outlined. In fact, we are convinced that justice would be easier of achievement

under the new system. And it would not be as hard as it is today to fight successfully against any injustice.

"There now remains to be described but only one other type of men whose desperation, excessive zeal, and a partiality for Western revolutionary methods have led them to acts of violence. But we are aware of no party, political or otherwise, in the country that has not done every thing in its power to discourage it. The pulpit and the platform have been extensively availed of in pursuit of restraining influence, and under these circumstances, it is nothing short of deliberate mendacity to saddle the Congress with even the faintest sympathy with, or toleration of crimes of violence. Before concluding we may also observe that it would be an insult to tens of thousands of Frontier Mussalmans to suggest that their participation in the present movement has been the result of any external influences and not of their deliberate decision.

"One of the fruitful causes of mutual recrimination has been the failure to evolve a resolution of the communal problem. But we take this opportunity of informing those who are unaware of the fact that the Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, the Moslem Nationalists and the Indian National Congress had evolved certain formulæ which, if pooled together, would have secured the greatest measure of agreement between various parties, but before that object could be achieved Mahatma Gandhi had suddenly to go to the Round Table Conference and immediately after

his return, he and other leaders of public opinion found themselves behind prison bars and the offensive which was launched against Congress organisation is still in progress. India has so far awaited the much talked of award by the British Government and we wonder if and when it comes it is likely to satisfy any one.

Finally, we earnestly assure all the communities in India and the people abroad that Indian Mussalmans as a community are next to none in their love of freedom or the will to live peacefully and harmoniously and to stand shoulder to shoulder with other fellow Indians in the task of leading the country to its highest destiny. Self-reliance and faith in the progress of humanity are among the articles of their faith and we are convinced that we would serve Islam more faithfully by strict adherence to these principles."

CHAPTER IX

John Bull *Versus* Unity Conference

THE text of the Communal Award has already been given in another chapter. In addition to its mischievous propensities, it was based on the principle of robbing Peter to pay Paul. It had unduly favoured the Europeans (in reality Englishmen) in India, and though it did not give any special benefit to the Muslims, it was thoroughly unjust to the Hindus. However, it was given out that it could be modified if the parties concerned were unanimously willing to have a change in it. But how could the parties benefitted by the Award, be willing to have a change unless the change placed them in a better position? Human nature is sufficiently selfish not to go in for a bad bargain.

Still an attempt was made by the leaders to come to a lasting agreement between themselves. Gandhiji who had been clapped into prison on his return from England, began his fast unto death on the question of the position of the so called depressed classes in the Communal Award. Pandit Malaviya worked hard turning night into day, and was successful in bringing about a settlement (between the Hindus and the depressed classes' leaders) known as Poona Pact and thus Gandhiji's precious life was saved.

After this Pandit Malaviya, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Dr. Syed Mahmood set about bringing an inter-communal settlement. Though the Muslim League was dead for all purposes, yet to pull the legs of the Muslim leaders who were working for a unity conference, the Secretary of the Muslim League, Sir Mohd Yakub issued a statement deprecating the attempts at unity. There is no reason why such people should feel pricks and itches, on such occasions, except that their wires are pulled from behind the scenes.

Of all other things the unity conference at Allahabad provided another opportunity for India to test the bonafide's of the British Raj in settling the communal problem. We produce below the telegrams that were exchanged between the Viceroy and Maulana Shaukat Ali.

M. Shaukat Ali's Telegram to the Viceroy

Dated 6th October 1932

"Kindly convey to H. E. my respectful greetings on the eve of my departure to America via England, and place before him my humble request. I have met Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Syed Mahmud and Pandit Malaviya for an amicable and lasting settlement between the various parties and interests. But I feel that without Mr. Gandhi's presence and co-operation, it is not easy to achieve the desired settlement which would bring real peace not

only to the various communities, but also to the British people. Mr. Gandhi's release will be a very helpful gesture of goodwill on the part of the government. If unfortunately, that is not possible, at least the fullest facility should be given for interviews between Mr. Gandhi, and the responsible leaders and workers."

Reactionary Muslims are always ready to give jerks to any peace moves, and the British Raj does not mind shedding grace, honesty and decency to take their stand behind such leaders. Private Secretary to the Viceroy replied to M. Shaukat Ali on 9th October 1932.

"His Excellency, while fully appreciating your intentions in desiring to negotiate a settlement between the various communities, presumably in modification of the Communal Award, feels that the first step will be for you to assure yourself that in the action you contemplate, you have the support of the Muslim community in general. In this connection attention is invited to the statement issued to the press on the 7th October by the president of the All India Muslim Conference and others."

Sawal gandam jawab cheena ! The Maulana asks for Gandhi's release or for facilities to interview him, the Viceroy asks him to give up the peace efforts as some Muslims have issued a statement unfavourable to the move !

The Maulana sent a reply to the above entreating the Viceroy that India could no longer afford communal and political quarrels and disturbances. He told the Viceroy that all sections of Muslims were meeting at Lucknow, to hold joint deliberations which would facilitate a Hindu-Muslim settlement and ensure honourable peace between Britain and India. About the statement referred to by the Viceroy, the Maulana wrote "I value the comradeship of those who have issued a statement from Simla, and have every hope that they would appreciate our effort when they know its real significance." Maulana Shaukat Ali in returning the advice given by the Viceroy, requested His Excellency to use his influence with all concerned, so that there could be a lasting peace. He again requested for Gandhi's release or facilities to see him. In the end he wrote "I hope all are in a chastened mood today and ready to reconsider their position. Under the circumstances may I, humble servant of Islam, beg that our request would receive favourable consideration from His Excellency."

To the above the Viceroy's Private Secretary replied on 27th October. "I have received your letter of October 26 which I observe has also been published in the press, and I have submitted it to His Excellency. His Excellency would refer you to the telegram which he sent to Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer on the same subject on October 9th last. I attach copy of the telegram for reference. In view of the position therein stated, you will understand that so

long as Mr. Gandhi does not definitely dissociate himself from civil disobedience, His Excellency regrets that it is not possible to accede to your requests."

On 29th October M. Shaukat Ali again sent a wire to the Viceroy.

> "Extremely regret His Excellency's decision. Beg grant interviews with M. Gandhi any time on Sunday or Monday."

The Maulana received the following rebuff in reply.

> "My letter of the 27th October dealt with both your requests and was intended to convey that interviews with Mr. Gandhi could not be allowed."

To say that this attitude of the Government was a matter of principle to punish the great out-law for his mis-deeds, would be incorrect. It was a clear attempt at political sabotage. Don't we know that when British prestige was at stake, on the Congress boycott of prince of Wales' visit to India, special trains ran carrying Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru from the viceregal lodge to Gandhi's prison cell, in order to request him to call off the boycott? Drenched in Economic ruin, when the British Capitalist was forced to close his Lancashire mills and could no longer stand the foriegn goods boycott of the Congress in 1932, special trains again ran carrying Sir Tej and Mr. Jayakar to pave the ground for Gandhi-Irwin

Truce. What a sharp contrast between British and Indian interests!

However, with this handicap and the constant leg-pulling by title-holders and title-seekers, the Conference began its deliberations with determination. The organisers had Gandhiji's blessings, though not his presence. After a good deal of deliberations and heated discussions, the Conference arrived at unanimous decisions. Muslims had joined the Unity Conference with a mandate from the All Parties Muslims Meeting at Lucknow; so had the Sikhs. This made their position in-elastic. Even the Congress Mussalmans, had to stand by the united demand of the All Parties Muslim Conference at Lucknow. Though the Hindus had also met in a private conference of their own before the Unity Conference they did not sit tied to any definite demands. The conclusions were not arrived at by counting of heads, but by unanimous approval on the accommodating principle of 'give and take,' and whenever the Muslims, the Sikhs or the Christians were adamant, Pandit Malaviya, the uncrowned King of Hindu India, commanded the Hindus to give in. It is said that once while the Muslims had accepted a certain percentage of seats at the centre a cablegram was flashed from England granting them one seat more! Here was another attempt to wreck the conference.

But the conference actually broke on the rock of Bengal representation. In Bengal according to Macdonald Award, the Europeans had been given

share in the representation loot, much beyond, they deserved from any point of view whatsoever. No party could get its due share in Bengal unless and until the Europeans were prepared to give up what their elder brother Macdonald had unduly given them. But it is against the grain of the European mind to give up easily any thing it has once got by howsoever questionable methods. So the Conference ended in smoke.

CHAPTER X

Revival of the League

IN the meantime the British Raj called the third Round Table Conference in London. Gandhiji was behind prison walls. Congress had been declared an illegal organisation. Again, persons who could play to Macdonald tune, were picked up, and packed to London, as representatives of India. Strange as it may seem, even Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah was ignored.

The time of holding General Elections to Central Legislature arrived in India. It is said that Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy had assured the Secretary of State, Sir Samual Hoare, that he had completely crushed the Congress, and there was no likeli-hood of its capturing the Legislature. So the General Elections were ordered. But Congress men and Congress Nationalists entered the Assembly in a thumping majority. Most of the candidates pitched against the Congress were title holders, and Round Tablers. Had these gentlemen been successful, the British Raj could have shown to the world, that Gandhi did not represent India, and the Round Table Conference delegates were really the representatives of India. But unfortunately for John Bull the Congress gave such a "knock-out" to the opponents, that even the Secretary of

State had to shed tears in the House of Commons, and in reply to a question had to remark that the Round Table Conference delegates had to pay the price for their honourable co-operation ! Was the co-operation honourable, or treacherous the Electorates answered it.

Though there was an All India Muslim Unity Board, which ran elections to the Central Legislature only seven men succeeded on its ticket. Even Mr. Mohd Ali Jinnah did not like to fight the election on the ticket of this Board. He entered the house as an independent member, and joined the Independent Party in the Central Legislative Assembly.

Perhaps it was about this time that the personal 'ego' of Mr. Jinnah began to goad him more than it had done hitherto. And he found the Muslim League, where he could give a full play to his ego by his undisputed ability. Many a man has sought the company of fools to look wiser by comparison ! A story is told of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's joining the Labour Party. It is said that he was a member of the Fabian Society of England, which had as members some of the most illustrious men of England, in various walks of life ; Politics, Law, Science, Literature, Art, etc. At the most that Ramsay Macdonald could achieve was to look as an equal in that august organisation. He left it and joined the Labour Party where he could look head and shoulders above others !

Had Mr. Jinnah been in the Congress, he would

have stalwarts, like Jawaharlal Nehru, C. Raja-Gopalachariar, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Bhula bhai Desai, Rajendra Prasad, Subhas Bose, and a host of others to compete. And over and above, the towering personality of Gandhiji was there whether any one likes it or not!

While in the Muslim League, if you leave aside, Sir Sikandar, and Mr. Fazlul Huq, the others are only hobbyists, or mere dabblers in politics. And definitely, inspite of themselves, the two premiers also are no match to Mr. Jinnah in any way.

The Congress is a fighting and high principled organisation, with a big ideal, the freedom of India from foreign exploitation, and lakhs of workers of good mettle on its rolls. It has had big collisions with the British Raj and very nearly brought it to its knees.

Muslim League is a body of wobbling persons and loose politics, so is its leader. [Presidlng at the Lucknow Students Conference he taught lessons of patriotism and nationalism to students, and he was glad that at least there was one organisation which was not organised on Hindu and Muslim basis. But within a short time of that he sent his blessings to the Lahore Muslim Student's Federation!) Most of the members of the League are big Zamindars, Talukadars, Capitalists, and Knights who are always in the dread of a mass revolution from economic causes, and therefore want to keep the masses busy in religio-communal matters.

When Mr. Jinnah re-entered the Muslim League, it was practically a dead organization. Its programme and policy were so reactionary, that it could neither attract the Muslim masses, nor even the advanced sections of the Muslim intelligentsia. It was a cock pit of retrograde title holders and communal wranglers. It was impossible to invigorate the Muslim League, unless a complete re-orientation was brought about in its policy and priciples. Mr. Jinnah got into touch with the Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, Nationalist Muslims who were not full Congressmen, and some disgruntled politicians like Maulana Zaffar Ali. He offered them a very alluring programme, and they were got into this political cozenage. Here is the new programme and policy of the League adopted in 1936 and 1937 taken from the Election Manifesto of the League, its constitution as adopted at Lucknow, and from speeches of prominent leaguers :—

(1) The attainment of *full responsible government for India* by all peaceful and legitimate means with adequate and effective safeguards for Mussalmans.

(2) To protect and advance the political, religious and other rights and interests of the Indian Mussalmans.

(3) To foster friendship and union between the Muslims and other communities of India.

(4) To maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Mussalmans of India and

other communities.

(5) To oppose all anti-Indian Legislations, which may effect civil liberties of individuals or may be economically harmful to the country.

(6) To attempt to decrease the army expenses and to indianise the army.

(7) To attempt to reduce the top-heavy administration expenses, and utilise the savings in nation building activities.

(8) To promote Indian industries.

(9) To control and regulate currency, exchange and prices according to the economic interests of India.

(10) To attempt to reduce the National Debt.

(11) To reduce taxation.

(12) To improve the economic, social and literary conditions of the rural people.

(13) To make primary education free and compulsary for all.

(14) To create political consiousness and healthy public-opinion.

(15) To improve the lot of the Muslims as a class.

(16) To remove repressive laws from the statute

(17) The replacement of the so called provincial autonomy, and the Federal portion of the Government of India Act 1935 by *Democratic self Government.*

(18) To work in the Legislative Assemblies, and to try to secure as much good as possible for national advancement.

Not suspecting that a huge fraud was being played upon them, many a great Mussalman leader innocently walked into this trap. They thought that the Muslim League would be got rid of the friends of British Imperialism, and would fight shoulder to shoulder with the Congress to win the country's freedom. Services of Sir Wazir Hassan the retired Chief Judge of the High Court of Oudh were procured to preside over the Annual Session of League at Bombay, in 1936.

How the ex-chief Justice was lured into the snare seems evident from his following speech delivered at Muslim League Session :—

"Our struggle for freedom therefore means freedom from political slavery, freedom from the fetters of class domination, and freedom from economic exploitation. But how to attain this freedom? The Congress has found the way. That way is both legitimate and peaceful, and briefly stated it is the way of stirring mass consciousness." Proceeding further :—

"I have shown above that the object of the All India Muslim League is the same in substance as the object of the Indian National Congress *i. e.* attainment of responsible self-government for the country and no body blames today the Muslim League or the Mussalmans of India, that they lack in ideals. But have we discovered any way leading to that goal,

different from that of the Congress? To my mind given the conditions of lawfulness and non-violence there is no other way than the way on which the Congress has already begun its march with a grim determination to reach the goal. With the passage of time our chains of slavery tighten more and more, the class domination increases and the economic miseries deepen.

"The Indian Mussalman must join the Congress and the reasons for doing so are implied in the bare statement of the nature of fight. No sacrifice is too great in this cause. Indeed it is a sacred obligation by which every Mussalman is bound, and it is his duty to discharge that obligation with best of his capacity...... Delaying in our march to freedom, shoulder to shoulder with the Congress unless settlement is made, is not only opposed to the constitution of the Muslim League but is highly derogatory to our national honour and political morals." Referring to the communal settlement as a *sine-quo-non* to freedom the distinguished Chief Justice said: "To say 'we will not take part in the battle of freedom, unless and until our share in the fruits of the victory is fixed and determined' is a most humiliating position for the Mussalman to take. The Mussalman must learn to depend upon his own national characteristics and dynamic forces; the measure of their right must be determined by the proportion of their contribution to the struggle for freedom. We must cease to be the parasites of British Imperialism, and should not degenerate into sycophants of another

label. I do not admit for a moment that there remains any thing to be settled between the League and the Congress, before we join the Congress and build a united front in the fight for freedom.....I trust that you are not oppressed with the apprehension that the coming Swaraj would be a Hindu Raj and not a Raj of the people of India. This fear if it exists at all is obviously created by the British Imperialists and their Indian supporters and I must earnestly appeal to you not to swerve even to a hair's breedth from your duty to the motherland." But Sir Wazir Hassan was soon dis-illusioned. He soon found that the new programme of the League was only paper programme, and it was only meant to lure in honest people of his type and the Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Hind. The retired Chief Justice as also prominent members of the Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Hind soon had to bid 'good-bye' to the Muslim League when they found that they had been misled into the snare, and the Muslim League was still a cockpit of self-seekers, people of vested interests, big capitalists, landlords, Talukadars and political mischief mongers, who wanted to maintain themselves and their leadership by preaching class hatred, and by creating a highly uncongenial atmosphere to the advancement of communal unity. Right from Jinnah down to any gutter worker of the League, began to preach the sermon of hatred between one community and the other, between man and man. It seems Section 153—A of the Indian Penal Cods stands suspended in the case of the League and its satellites,

while the whole machinery of British Raj comes into motion to clap into prison, a peaceful satyagrahi whose business is to promote non-voilence, truth, and goodwill in the world, and to show abhorrence at all warfare. But one need not be a prophet to find out why it is so.

CHAPTER XI

The Elections of 1937

THE world and the gods above (if there are any) witnessed India becoming the victim of a huge first-April-fool joke, when on 1st of April 1937, the Government of India Act 1935 with its sham of Provincial Autonomy was foisted on an unwilling India, and it was attempted to make India think that a real provincial autonomy had been graciously bestowed upon her !

Under it, Provincial Elections were held in 1937. The Congress and other political parties got a chance to gauge their popularity with the masses. The result of the elections proved that the Congress was the real representative of the people, Hindu and Muslim ; and it nailed to the counter the claim of the Muslim League to be the sole representative of Muslims in India. The Congresss swept the polls in eight out of eleven provinces, and formed Congress Ministries in them. In the remaining three provinces namely Bengal, Sind and the Punjab the Congress Party was single largest party in the Bengal Assembly; Second largest party in the Punjab Assembly, and in Sind it wielded the most decisive influence, though it was not very strong in numbers.

Looking from communal population basis, Bihar, Bombay, Central Provinces, Madras, Orissa, United Provinces and Assam have got a preponderating Hindu population; the Congress had thumping majorities there, and ruled these provinces till they voluntarily resigned last year. Despite the fact that there are four Muslim majority provinces, the Muslim League which insists on being recognized the sole and only representative of Muslims in India, was not able to form a single ministry. In the North-Western Frontier Province, where there is the highest percentage of Muslim population—out of every 100 men there are about 94 Mussalmans,—there was a full-fledged Congress Ministry, and no body cared even a hoot for Mr. Jinnah and his henchmen. In the Punjab, out of 89 Muslim members only 2 were successful on the Muslim League Ticket inspite of the pratings of Mr. Jinnah against the Unionists. And out of these two Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan left the League and joined the Unionist Party getting Parliamentary Secretaryship, and thus Malik Barkat Ali was the solitary person entering the Punjab Assembly on the Muslim League ticket. This was the position and following of Mr. Jinnah in the two provinces whom he now fondly calls his Pakistan !. The Congress and Ahrars on the other hand got quite a good 'handful' of Muslim members in the Punjab Assembly.

Now let us turn to Sind and Bengal. There were hardly eight Muslim Leaguers out of 34 Muslims

in the Sind Assembly; all of them a jumble of self-seekers and political mischief mongers, who have absolutely no respect for political decency. We shall have occasion to discuss their politics in an other chapter.

In Bengal Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq who was till his election a Congressman organised his Krishak Proja Party with an economic programme, and he fought the Muslim League tooth and nail. The League-Proja Party contest was the bitterest in the whole of India. There was nothing common between the two parties. Mr. Fazlul Huq abused the Muslim League Party left and right. He abused it to his heart's content and called it all sorts of imaginable names. Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim Leaguers spared no pains in hurling back the abuses. The Krishak Proja Party was supposed to be a left wing of the Congress. No two parties seemed more irreconcilable than the League and this party. Sir Nizam-ud-din the leader of the Muslim League in the province was given a routing defeat in two constituencies by Mr. Fazlul Huq. Bitterness and vengeance marked the Bengal elections. What was the result? The Congress emerged as the single largest party in the Assembly. The Krishak Proja Party followed: and the Muslim League, this 'sole representative' of the Muslims was at the tail! The respective strength of the parties was such that no single party was able to form government. The Congress had no lust for offices so it turned down the offer of the Krishak Party to form a

coalition. Self-aggrandizement and love of power blinded the Party and they sought a pact with the Muslim League. The Muslim Leaguers have proved so greedy for ministerships that they are always willing to do the meanest job, only if it can get them a ministership. They do not even care for their own self-respect, which is the ornament of man, and brush it aside as if it were dust. So Mr. Fazlul Huq and Mr. Jinnah were seen flirting with each other in the bed of Bengal politics. Mr. Fazlul-Haq became the Premier and Sir Nazim-ud-din became Home Minister! Why this somersault on the part of Mr. Huq? What was common either in ideals or in policy between the Krishak Proja Party and the Muslim League? What about the views of Mr. Huq about Muslim League a little before his unholy alliance with it? And look at Mr. Jinnah! What were his grounds for joining hands with the leader of the Krishak Proja Party? It is clear as daylight that love of power and sharing the spoils of office drove the selfish elements in the League and the Krishak Proja Party to hug each other. It was not a case of compromise, nor was any new policy and programme chalked out. The clear cut issues on which both the parties got the backing of their electorates got into oblivion. Both of them are guilty of treacherous betrayal of the interests and confidence of their voters.

In the Hindu majority provinces it must be admitted that a handful of Muslim Leaguers were

elected on the Muslim League tickets. But it was not due to the popularity of the League or its leader, but due to the personal and local influence of the Ulemas who had been lured into the League by its paper programme.

In short at the Provincial Elections, the Muslim League suffered a big route, and its claim to represent the Muslims paved nothing more than a smoke. Mr. Jinnah began to smart under the colossal failure of his League, and the magnificent success of the Congress all over, particularly in the entirely Muslim Province N. W. F. P. He thought of a new devise to make his League popular. And he adopted one of the well-known but cheap methods of gaining importance for the League. He fell out with the Congress. The entire ameliorative programme of promoting Indian industries, checking unemployment, controlling currency and exchange, cutting down the top-heavy administration, and all that appeared in the Manifesto sank into oblivion as if it never existed or it was all fulfilled, or the Muslims were no longer in need of it. And in its place rose flimsy, base, and cheap problems, *viz* :—

1. "The Congressmen should not sing the Bande Matram song. The song is against Islam!" Good God! It was new wisdom dawning on the League and its leader. Most of the members of the League forgot that for many a year they had sung that song under the banner of the Congress, and yet no one even thought that the song was against Islam.

2. "The Congress should not fly its flag over public buildings."

3. "The Congress should not approach the Muslims." Why? So that the mask of the Muslim Leaguers may not be torn?

In short the leader of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah began to behave like that fabled lady, who after doing her work at home, would go to her neighbour, and say "Come neighbour, let us have a quarrel." In his opposition to the Congress, Mr. Jinnah got strange bed fellows. The Unionist Party of the Punjab, a hocus pocus of big land lords in the province, was very much afraid of the Congress Socialists of the Nehru Brand, 'En-masse' the party crept into Mr. Jinnah's bed. Mr. Jinnah had characterisad this party as a party of reactionary Knights and Nawabs and henchmen of the bureaucracy, from whom no good of the masses could ever be be expected. But over night there was a '*kaya kalap*', and even Sir Chhotu Ram had to rub his eyes when he read the news in the newspapers.

CHAPTER XII

Elusive Jinnah

THE tirade of Mr. Jinnah and his obsequious followers went on, directed as it was against the Congress. The Congress President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru* who believes that the entire human organisation is knit in economic fibre, does not recognise the communal problem. And in reality there *is* no communal question in India. It is a bogey raised by British Imperialism, and by selfish people. Pandit Jawaharlal examined the communal problem very closely, and on finding its hollowness, remarked "I have examined the communal question through the telescope; when there is nothing what can you find?" This true and honest statement acted as a corrosive on the body of the Muslim League and its leader. "The Congress must be brought to its senses" thought the League Leader, Mr. Jinnah, and began to raise a hue and cry. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru got into correspondence with him and enquired as to what he or his Muslim League wanted. In his letters he frankly gave his mind that so far as he was concerned he had failed to understand what were the special interests or demands of the Muslims. Instead of giving what the Muslim League wanted, Mr. Jinnah

*Mr. Jinnah recently said about him, "I like him immensely".

began to beat about the bush. Either he was not clear in his mind, he knew that his claims were so unreasonable that he would expose himself to ridicule, or that the Congress might accept all his demands (to stop the mischief) and might leave him wondering what to do next.

Here is the correspondence between the two :—

Lucknow, January 18, 1938.

M. A. Jinnah Esqr.,
Barrister-at-Law,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay.

Dear Jinnah,

I have read the statement you issued recently to the press with care. I am afraid we approach the question from different view points and I feel that your approach is not very helpful. But I entirely agree with you that an argument carried on through the medium of the press is not desirable. Indeed I had decided not to issue press statements on the subject, but after your Calcutta speech in which you mentioned my name and issued some kind of a 'challenge ' to me, I felt that a public statement was unavoidable. Hence my statement, in which I tried to avoid unnecessary controversy.

You know perhaps that for some months past I have been in correspondence with Nawab Ismail Khan on this subject and I have been anxious to find out what the points of difference and agreement were. I

am afraid I do not know this yet and your last statement does not help. I would feel grateful to you if you could kindly throw some light on this and let me know what exactly are the points in dispute which require consideration. I think this will help us all and lead to an avoidance of needless controversy. We can then come to grips with the subject. As I have said in my last statement, we are eager to do everything in our power to put an end to every misapprehension and to endeavour to solve every problem that comes in the way of our developing our public life along right lines and promoting the unity and progress of the Indian people.

I am leaving for Lahore to-day. From there I go to the Frontier province and return to Allahabad in about ten days' time. Kindly address your reply to Allahabad.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru.

Little Gibbs Road,
Malabar Hill.
Bombay, January 25, 1938.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
Allahabad.

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th January, 1938.

I must say that it is very difficult for me to understand it. I fail to see what you are driving at. It does not suggest any useful proposal of a concrete character besides approaching me and informing me

that " we approach the question from different view points", and you further say, "I feel that your approach is not very helpful." You further refer to my Calcutta speech and say " in which you mention my name and issued some kind of a challenge to me, I felt that a public statement was unavoidable. Hence my statement." But you do not even now give me the purport of my speech and what was the challenge which compelled you to say, what you did, in your statement which you consider unavoidable.

I know nothing of your being in correspondence with Nawab Ismail Khan referred to in your letter.

Finally I note your request that I should let you know ' what exactly are the points in dispute which require consideration.'

I am glad that you agree with me that the arguments carried on through the medium of the press are not desirable. But do you think that this matter can be discussed, much less solved, by and through correspondence ? I am afraid that is equally undesirable.

I may state for your information that I received a letter from Mr. Gandhi dated the 19th October 1937 and I replied to him on the 5th November 1937, and I am still waiting to hear from him.

I reciprocate the sentiments expressed in the last but one paragraph of your letter at end of it.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah.

Wardha, February 4, 1938.

M. A. Jinnah Esq.,
Little Gibbs Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay,

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter of the 25th January reached Allahabad on February 1st after I had left. It has been forwarded to me here and reached me yesterday.

I am sorry that my previous letter was difficult to understand. My purpose in writing it was, as I stated, to find out what our points of difference and agreement were. Presumably there are points of difference as you have repeatedly criticised the Congress policy and practice. If these points of difference are noted down and our attention drawn to them it would make their consideration easier. It is possible that some of them may be due to misapprehension and this misapprehension might be removed ; it is equally possible that some are more fundamental and then we would try to find a way out or, at any rate, know exactly how and where we stand. When there is a conflict of opinion, a clarification of the opposing opinions is an essential preliminary to their consideration.

I might mention some relatively minor matters which have apparently led to misapprehension. In one of your speeches you referred to being told by some one that a cheque of rupees five lakhs was recently given to the Congress. I am not aware of

this and presumably I ought to know. Indeed, to my knowledge, no one has given even a cheque for Rs. 5000 to the Congress for a considerable time.

In the same, or possibly another, speech you referred to the non-co-operation days and stated that while the Aligarh University was forced to close down and many non-co-operated from it, not a single student non-co-operated from the Benares University. As a matter of fact a very large number of students did in fact non-cooperate from the Benares University. As a result of this a non-official university, the Kashi Vidyapitha, was established in Benares, as also the Gandhi Ashram. Both of these still exist. In the same way the Jamia Millia came into existence in Aligarh and this now flourishes in Delhi.

You have referred in your speeches to the Congress imposing Hindi-Hindustani and trying to crush Urdu. I presume you were misinformed for I am not aware of any attempt on the part of the Congress to injure Urdu. Some time back I wrote an essay on "The Question of Language" which represents, I believe, the Congress viewpoint. It was approved by Mr. Gandhi and by many people unconnected with the Congress and interested in the advancement of Urdu, including Moulvi Abdul Huq, Secretary Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu of Hyderabad. I do not know if you have come across this essay. In any event I am asking my office in Allahabad to send you a copy. If you disagree with the argument or conclusions of this essay I shall be grateful to have your criticisms.

I might mention that the Congress Ministry in Madras is endeavouring to introduce the study of Hindustani in the State schools in the province. They are having primers and text-books prepared especially for the purpose by the Jamia Millia. These primers etc. are to be in two scripts—Devanagri and Urdu—but in identical language, the students having the option of script.

I mention these instances to show how misapprehensions arise. But the real questions at issue are more important and it is in regard to these that clarification is necessary. I presume you are acquainted with the Congress resolution and statement on minority and fundamental rights and regarding communal questions. If you so wish it, I can have these sent to you. Many of these were collected together in a comprehensive resolution passed by the Working Committee in Calcutta towards the end of October 1937. About the Communal Award the Congress position has been repeatedly made clear.

The Congress policy as laid down in these resolutions may be incomplete or wrong. If so we shall gladly consider suggestions to complete it or rectify it. Personally I do not see what more can be done by the Congress regarding religious or cultural matters. As for political (communal) questions, the Communal Award, unsatisfactory as it is, holds the field for the present and till such time as it may be altered by mutual agreement of parties concerned.

In considering wider political questions, the Congress has adhered to certain principles and policies for a number of years, though minor variations have taken place from time to time. Our present policy in the legislatures and outside was defined by a comprehensive resolution passed by the Working Committee at Wardha last year. I was very glad to find from Nawab Ismail Khan and Chowdhry Khaliq-uz-zaman that the U. P. Muslim League, or the U. P. Muslim League Parliamentary Board, accepted this programme. This included our objective of independence, our demand for a constituent assembly, our general attitude to the Constitution Act and the Federation, and our methods of work inside and outside the legislatures. It referred also to our agrarian and labour programmes. Thus there appeared to be a very large measure of agreement between us, not only in regard to fundamentals, but even regarding many details.

In view of this agreement it distressed and surprised me to find that there was so much conflict. I have tried therefore to find out what this conflict is about. I do not see how I can make any proposal, concrete or vague, when I do not know what the points in issue are. It is true that reading your speeches I have come across various statements to the effect that the Congress is trying to establish Hindu Raj. I am unaware of how this is being done or who is doing it. If any Congress Ministries or the Congress organisation have made mistakes, these should be pointed out to us.

A report of your Calcutta speech appeared in the newspapers at the time and is no doubt available to you and for me to give you a purport of it seemed hardly necessary. In this you state that you are fighting the Congress leadership which is misleading the Hindus. Further you have said that you want to bring the Congress High Command to its senses. May I suggest that those who are privileged to advise or lead the Congress have no desire to fight anybody except British Imperialism? In any event, if we mislead or misbehave we have a right to inquire from our critics where and how we have done so.

Further in your Calcutta speech you said: "I have long long ago, months ago now, thrown out a challenge to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and I throw out a challenge now,—let him come and sit with us and let us formulate a constructive programme which will give immediate relief to the poor". It was to this 'challenge' that I referred in my last letter. I do not remember on which previous occasion you had issued a similar challenge to me.

It is always helpful to discuss matters and problems face to face, and as I have said previously, we are always glad to do so. A short while ago you met Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, one of our most respected leaders, than whom there is no one better fitted to explain the Congress viewpoint in regard to the minorities problem or any other matter. Whenever necessity arises every one of us will willingly welcome a talk. But even such a talk is likely to be vague and

infructuous if some clarification of ideas does not take place previously. Correspondence helps in this process and sometimes is even preferable as it is more precise than talk. I trust therefore that you will help in clarifying the position by telling us where we differ and how you would like this difference to end. You have also criticised the Congress in vigorous language, as you were no doubt entitled to do. But are we not entitled to ask you to substantiate those criticisms in private at least, if not in public ?

I have inquired from Mr. Gandhi about your letter to him dated the 5th November, 1937. He received it in Calcutta when he was lying ill there and he felt that it needed no answer. Your letter had been in answer to his and the matter seemed to end there for the time being. He was good enough to show me his letter and yours and it seemed to me that no particular reply was called for. I understand that he wrote to you yesterday.

I hope to be in Allahabad by the 9th February.

Yours Sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

8—B, Harding Avenue,
New Delhi, February, 17, 1938

Dear Pandit Jawaharlal,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th February. You have now flung at me more complaints and grievances of trifling character. Evidently you rely

on that section of the press which is bent on misrepresenting and vilifying me, but I am glad that you say 'I mention these instances to show how misapprehensions arise. 'But the real question at issue is more important and it is in regard to this that clarification is necessary.' Therefore I don't think any useful purpose will be served to carry on correspondence with regard to the various matters mentioned in your letter. You will please not introduce matters which you may have discussed with Nawab Ismail Khan or Chowdhry Khaliq-uz-zaman or any body else. These again will lead to reference and cross-references and the matter will never end.

As regards my Calcutta speech, the word, 'challenge' is obviously due to the imagination of the reporter for the very context shows clearly that it was an invitation. However the discussion of all these matters in correspondence will lead us nowhere. I do not believe in the doctrine which you lay down 'but are we not entitled to ask you to substantiate all these criticisms in private at least if not in public': I for my part make no such distinction. I am prepared to substantiate anything that I have said publicly, provided it is correctly reported. The crux of your letter on the real vital point of the Hindu-Muslim unity is a repetition of what you said in your previous letter, namely, that you want me to note down 'the points of difference' and discuss them through and by means of correspondence—a method which I made it clear in my last letter, is

highly undesirable and most inappropriate. I welcome your suggestion when you say 'whenever necessity arose everyone of us would willingly welcome a talk.' If you think that necessity has arisen and anyone of you is willing, I shall be glad to see you. You prefer talking at each other whereas I prefer talking to each other. Surely you know and you ought to know what are the fundamental points in dispute.

I have received a letter from Mr. Gandhi and I have replid to him a copy of which I am enclosing herewith.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

Gulshan Villa,
Oomer Part,
Bombay, February 25, 1938,

M. A. Jinnah, Esqr., M. L. A.,
8-B, Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter of the 17th February reached me at Haripura. I had no intention of flinging any complaints and grievances at you. In my attempt to find out what your complaints were I read your speeches as reported in the newspapers (usually by a news agency) and noted down some of the points on which you had laid stress, I am glad to know that you have been misreported, but you have not

pointed out where the misrepresentation comes in, nor, so far as I know, have you issued any statement to the press correcting the misrepresentation. May I suggest that it will be worth-while to correct these errors so that the public might not be misled? A clear and authoritative statement from you will help us also in understanding what you stand for and what you object to.

I note that you do not wish me to introduce in our correspondence any matters which we may have discussed with Nawab Ismail Khan or Chowdhry Khaliquzzaman. I did not know that they represented any different view point from yours. I thought it necessary to draw your attention to the repeated attempts I have been making to find out what the political and communal policy of the Muslim League is and wherein it differs from that of the Congress. You will remember saying last year that the Muslim League had an entirely different policy even on political matters from that of the Congress. Since then the League has changed its objective and its economic outlook and has thus approached nearer to the Congress. I am anxious to find out what the real meaning of these changes is. Without this clarification it is difficult for us to understand the present position.

You say that you do not believe in the doctrine that I lay down, namely: 'but are we not entitled to ask you to substantiate all these criticisms in private at least if not in public.' Further you say

that for your part you make no such distinction and are prepared to substantiate anything that you have said publicly, provided it is correctly reported. If you will read my sentence, again you will no doubt observe that I have not laid down any such doctrine as you imagine. I would indeed welcome a public treatment by you of the criticisms made by you. But if you yourself were unwilling to write to the press on the subject, as you indicated in your letter, I put it to you that we were at least entitled to request you to substantiate the criticism in private.

If you have made no criticisms of the Congress, and the press reports are entirely wrong, then of course no question of substantiation arises. All that need be done is to contradict the press reports. But if criticisms have been made, as presumbly they have been, then I would request you to justify them publicly or privately as you might choose. Personally I would prefer the former method.

I am afraid I must confess that I do not yet know what the fundamental points of dispute are. It is for this reason that I have heen requesting you to clarify them. So far I have not received any help in this direction. Of course we shall willingly meet you whenever opportunity arises. Our president Subhas Bose, or Maulana Abul Kalam Azad or I or any other member of the Working Committee can meet you at a suitable opportunity.

But when we meet what are we to discuss?

Responsible people with organizations behind them can hardly discuss anything in the air. Some clarification of the issues, some clear statement of what is wanted and what is objected to, is always desirable otherwise we may not come to grips with the subject. You will remember the argument about what transpired at Delhi in 1935 between you and Babu Rajendra Prasad. There has even been a difference of opinion about the facts. It would be unfortunate if we repeated this performance and then argued about it later.

It is thus highly desirable for us to define the issues first. This is also necessary as we have always to consult many colleagues in regard to any matter affecting Congress policy. There is surely nothing undesirable or inappropriate about this defining of issues by correspondence. It is the usual method adopted between individuals and organisations. May I therefore beg of you to enlighten me ?

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

No. 1, Hastings Road,
New Delhi, *March* 3, 1938.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
Anand Bhawan, Allahabad.

Dear Pandit Jawaharlal,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 25th February. I regret to find the same spirit running

through of making insinuations and innuendoes and raising all sorts of matters of trifling character which are not germane to our present subject with which you started namely, how to find the basis of approach to the most vital and prominent question of Hindu-Muslim unity. You wind up your letter by insisting upon the course that I should formulate the points in dispute and submit to you for your consideration and then carry on correspondence with you. This method I have already stated in my considered opinion is undesirable and inappropriate. The method you insist upon may be appropriate between two litigants and that is followed by solicitors on behalf of their clients but national issues cannot be settled like that.

When you say 'that I am afraid I must confess that I do not know what the fundamental points in dispute are' I am only amazed at your ignorance. This matter has been tackled since 1925 right upto 1935 by the most prominent leaders in the country and so far no solution has been found. I would beg of you to study it and do not take up a self-complacent attitude and if you are earnest I don't think you will find much difficulty in realizing what the main points in dispute are, because they have been constantly mentioned both in the press and on the public platform even very recently.

Yours Sincerely,
M. A Jinnah.

Allahabad, March, 8, 1938.

M. A. Jinnah Esqr M. L. A.,
1, Hastings Road,
New Delhi.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of March 3rd. I am afraid our letters to each other repeat themselves. I go on requesting you to tell us what exactly are the points in dispute which have to be discussed and you go on insisting that this should not be done by correspondence. At the same time you have pointed out that the main points in dispute have been constantly, and very recently, discussed in the press and public platform. I have carefully followed press statements and your public speeches. In my efforts to discover those points of dispute I enumerated some of the criticisms which you were reported to have made in public speeches. In your reply you stated that you were misreported, but you did not say what the correct report should have been. Further you said that these were minor and trifling matters, but again you did not point out what the major matters were. You will perceive my difficulty. I hope I am not making any insinuations or innuendoes, as you suggest in your last letter. Certainly it is not my intention to do so, nor to raise trifling matters which are not germane to the present subject. But what are these matters which are germane? It may be that I am dense or not sufficiently acquainted with the intricacies of the problem. If so I deserve to be

enlightened. If you will refer me to any recent statement made in the press or platform which will help me in understanding, I shall be grateful.

It is not my desire, may I repeat, to carry on a controversy by correspondence, but only to find out what the main points of discussion and dispute are. It is surely usual for national issues to be formulated and clarified in this way to facilitate discussion. Both in national and international matters we are frequently adopting this course.

You are perfectly right in saying that this matter has been tackled since 1925 repeatedly. Do you not think that this very history warns us not to approach it in a vague manner without clear ideas as to what we object to and what we want? Apart from this, much has happened during these past few years which has altered the position. For instance the Communal Award. Do you want this discussed with a view to some settlement being arrived at on another basis?

It is obvious that the Congress is exceedingly anxious to remove all causes of misunderstanding and friction. Apart from wider national issues, it would like to do so because such misunderstanding comes in the way of its work. It has frequently considered the problem and passed such resolutions and put forward such proposals as it considered right. I do not wish to discuss as to whether these were right or not. That may be a matter for argument. But according to our lights we tried to do our best. If we did not

succeed to the extent we hoped to do that is our misfortune and we shall gladly consider suggestions which might lead to better results.

What are the various aspects of this matter? May I enumerate them?

(1) The Communal Award, which includes separate electorates and reservation of seats.

(2) Religious guarantees.

(3) Cultural protection and guarantees.

Presumably these are the three main heads. There may be some minor matters but I do not refer to them as you wish to concentrate on the main issues.

As regards the Communal Award the position of the Congrest has been clarified. If it is your desire to discuss this matter, I should like to know it.

As regards religious and cultural guarantees, the Congress has given as full assurances and guarantees as is possible. If, however, any other guarantees are considered necessary, they should be mentioned. About one of the questions which you have referred to in your speeches, the Language question, I have written to you previously and sent you my brochure. I trust that you agreed with its main conclusions.

Are we going to discuss these matters or some others which I have not mentioned above? Then again the background of all such discussions must necessarily be a certain political and economic one—our struggle for independence, our anti-imperialism,

our methods of direct action whenever necessary, our anti-war policy, our attempt to remove the exploitation of the masses, agrarian and labour problems, and the like. I take it that with the re-orientation of the Muslim League's policy there will not be any great difference regarding this anti-imperialist background.

You will forgive me for repeating myself in these letters and for saying the same things over and over again. I do so because I am keenly desirous of your appreciating my viewpoint, which I believe is also the viewpoint of my colleagues in the Congress. I have no desire to take up your time and to spend my time in writing long letters. But my mind demands clarity before it can function effectively or think in terms of any action. Vagueness or an avoidance of real issue cannot lead to satisfactory results. It does seem strange to me that in spite of my repeated requests I am not told what issues have to be discussed.

I understand that Gandhiji has already written to you expressing his readiness to have a talk with you. I am not now the Congress President and thus have not the same representative capacity, but if I can be of any help in this matter my services are at the disposal of the Congress and I shall gladly meet you and discuss these matters with you.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharal Nehru.

1. Hastings Road,
New Delhi, March 17, 1938.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
All-India Congress Committee,
Swaraj Bhawan,
Allahabad.

Dear Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

I have received your letter of the 8th March, 1938. Your first letter of the 18th of January conveyed to me that you desire to know the points in dispute for the purpose of promoting Hindu-Muslim unity. When in reply I said that the subject-matter cannot be solved through correspondence and it was equally undesirable as discussing matters in the Press, you in your reply of the 4th of February formulated a catalogue of grievances with regard to my supposed criticism of the Congress and utterances which are hardly relevant to the question for our immediate consideration. You went on persisting on the same line and you are still of opinion that those matters, although not germane to the present subject, should be further discussed which I do not propose to do as I have already explained to you in my previous letter.

The question with which we started, as I understood, is of safeguarding the rights and interests of the Mussalmans with regard to their religion, culture, language, personal laws and political rights in the national life, the government and the administration of the country. Various suggestions have been made which will satisfy the Mussalmans and create a sense

of security and confidence in the majority community. I am surprised when you say in your letter under reply, "But what are these matters which are germane? It may be that I am dense or not sufficiently acquainted with the intricacies of the problems. If so, I deserve to be enlightened. If you will refer me to any recent statement made in the press or platform which will help me in understanding, I shall be grateful." Perhaps you have heard of the Fourteen Points.

Next, as you say, "Apart from this much has happened during these past few years which has altered the position." Yes, I agree with you, and various suggestions have appeared in the newspapers recently. For instance, if you will refer to the *Statesman*, dated the 12th of February, 1938, there appears an article under the heading "Through Muslim Eyes" (copy enclosed for your convenience). Next, an article in the *New Times*, dated the 1st of March, 1938, dealing with your pronouncement recently made, I believe at Haripura session of the Congress, where you are reported to have said :—

"I have examined this so-called communal question through the telescope, and if there is nothing what can you see."

This article in the *New Times* appeared on the 1st of March, 1938, making numerous suggestions (copy enclosed for convenience). Further, you may have seen Mr. Aney's interview where he warned the

Congress mentioning some of the points which the Muslim League would demand.

Now, this is enough to show to you that various suggestions that have been made, or are likely to be made, or are expected to be made, will have to be analysed and ultimately I consider it is the duty of every true nationalist, to whichever party or community he may belong, to make it his business and examine the situation and bring about a pact between the Mussalmans and the Hindus and create a real united front; and it should be as much your anxiety and duty as it is mine, irrespective of the question of the party or the community to which we belong. But if you desire that I should collect all these suggestions and submit to you as a petitioner for you and your colleagues to consider, I am afraid I can't do it for the purpose of carrying on further correspondence with regard to these various points with you. But if you still insist upon that, as you seem to do so when you say in your letter, "My mind demands clarity before it can function effectively or think in terms of any action. Vagueness or an avoidance of real issues could not lead to satisfactory results. It does seem strange to me that in spite of my repeated requests I am not told what issues have to be discussed." This is hardly a correct description or a fair representation, but in that case I would request you to ask the Congress officially to communicate with me to that effect and I shall place the matter before the Council of the All-India Muslim League as you yourself say

that you are "not the Congress President and thus have not the same representative capacity but if I can be of any help in this matter my services are at the disposal of the Congress and I shall gladly meet you and discuss these matters with you." As to meeting you and discussing matters with you, I need hardly say that I shall be pleased to do so.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah.

Extract from the NEW TIMES, Lahore dated the 1st March 1938

THE COMMUNAL QUESTION

In its last session at Haripura the Indian National Congress passed a resolution for assuring minorities of their religious and cultural rights. The resolution was moved by Pandit Jawaharlal and was carried. The speech which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made on this occasion was as bad as any speech could be. If the resolution has to be judged in the light of that speech, then it comes to this that the resolution has been passed not in any spirit of seriousness, but merely as a meaningless assurance to satisfy the foolish minorities who are clammering "for the satisfaction of the communal problem." Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru proceeded on the basis that there was really no communal question. We should like to reproduce the trenchant manner in which he put forward the proposition. He said: "I have examined the *so-called communal question* through the telescope and, if there is nothing, what

can you see." It appears to us that it is the height of dishonesty to move a resolution with these premises. If there is no minority question why proceed to pass a resolution ? Why not state that there is no minority question. This is not the first time that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has expressed his complete inability to understand or see the communal question. When replying to a statement of Mr. Jinnah, he re-iterated his concviction that in spite of his best endeavour to understand what Mr. Jinnah wanted, he could not get at what he wanted. He seems to think that with the Communal Award which the Congress had opposed, the seats in the Legislature have become assured and now nothing remains to be done. He repeats the offensive statement that the Communal Award is merely a problem created by the middle or upper classes for the sake of a few seats in the Legislature or appointments in Government service or for Ministerial positions. We should like to tell Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that he has completely mis-understood the position of the Muslim minority and it is a matter of intense pain that the President of an All India Organisation which claims to represent the entire population of India, should be so completely ignorant of the Muslim minority. We shall set forth below some of the demands so that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru may not have any occasion hereafter to say that he does not know what more the Muslims want. The Muslim demands are :—

1. That the Congress shall henceforth withdraw

all opposition to the Communal Award and should cease to prate about it as if it were a negation of nationalism. It may be a negation of nationalism, but if the Congress has announced in its statement that it is not opposing the Communal Award, the Muslims want that the Congress should at least stop all agitation for the recission of the Communal Award.

2. The Communal Award merelv settles the question of the representation of the Muslims and of other minorities in the Legislatures of the country. The further question of the representation of the minorities in the services of the country remains. Muslims demand that they are as much entitled to be represented in the services of their motherland as the Hindus and since the Muslims have come to realise by bitter experience that it is impossible for any protection to be extended to Muslim rights in the matter of their representation in the services, it is necessary that the share of the Muslims in the services should be definitely fixed in the constitution and by statutory enactment so that it may not be open to any Hindu head of any department to ride roughshod over Muslims in the name of "Efficiency." Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru knows that in the name of efficiency and merit, the right of Indians to man the services of their country was denied by the bureaucracy. Today when Congress is in power in 7 Provinces, the Muslims have a right to demand of Congress leaders that they shall unequivocally express themselves in this regard.

3. Muslims demand that the protection of their Personal Law and their culture shall be guaranteed by the statute. And as an acid rest of the sincerity of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress in this regard, Muslims demand that the Congress should take in hand the agitation in connection with the Shahidganj mosque and should use its moral pressure to ensure that the Shahidganj Mosque is restored to its original position and that the Sikhs desist from profane uses and thereby injuring the religious susceptibilities of the Muslims.

4. Muslims demand that their right to call Azan and perform their religious ceremonies shall not be fettered in any way. We should like to tell Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that in a village, in the Kasur Tehsil, of the Lahore District, known as Raja Jang, the Muslim inhabitants of that place are not allowed by the Sikhs to call out their Azans loudly. With such neighbours, it is necessary to have a statutory guarantee that the religious rights of the Muslims shall not be in any way interfered with and on the advent of Congress rule to demand of the Congress that it shall use its powerful organisation for the prevention of such an event. In this connection we should like to tell Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that the Muslims claim cow slaughter as one of their religious rights and demand that so long as the Sikhs are permitted to carry on Jhatka and to live on Jhatka, the Muslims have every right to insist

on their undoubted right to slaughter cows. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is not a very great believer in religious injunctions. He claims to be living on the economic plane and we should like Pandit Jawarharlal Nehru to know that for a Muslim the question of cow slaughter is a measure of economic necessity and that therefore it does not remain open to any Hindu to statutorily prohibit the slaughter of cows.

5. Muslims demand that their majorities in the Provinces in which they are at present shall not be affected by any territorial redistributions or adjustments. The Muslims are at present in majority in the provinces of Bengal, Punjab, Sind, North-Western Frontier Province and Baluchistan. Let the Congress hold out the guarantee and express its readiness to the incorporation of this guarantee in the Statute that the present distribution of the Muslim population in the various provinces shall not be interfered with through the medium of any territorial distribution or re-adjustment.

6. The question of national anthem is another matter. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru cannot be unaware that Muslims all over have refused to accept the Bande Matram or any expurgated addition of the anti-Muslim song as a binding national anthem. If Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru cannot succeed in inducing the Hindu majority to drop the use of this song, then let him not talk so tall, and let him realise that the great Hindu mass does not take him.

seriously except as a strong force to injure the cause of Muslim solidarity.

7. The question of language and script is another demand of the Muslims. The Muslims insist on Urdu being practically their national language; they want statutory guarantees that the use of the urdu tongue shall not in any manner be curtailed or damaged.

8. The question of the representation of the Muslims in the local bodies is another unsolved question. Muslims demand that the principle underlying the communal award, namely, separate electorates and representation according to population strength should apply uniformly in the various local and other elected bodies from top to bottom.

We can go on multiplying this list but for the present we should like to know the reply of the Congress and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the demands that we have set forth above. We should like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru fully to understand that the Muslims are more anxious than the Hindus to see complete independence in the real sense of that term established in India. They do not believe in any Muslim Raj for India and will fight a Hindu Raj tooth and nail. They stand for the complete freedom of country and of all classes inhabiting this country but they shall oppose the establishment of any majority Raj of a kind that will make a clean sweep of the cultural, religious and political guarantees of the

various minorities as set forth above. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is under the comforting impression that the questions set forth above are trivial questions but he should reconsider his position in the light of the emphasis and importance which the minorities which are effected by the programme of the Congress place on these matters. After all it is the minorities which are to judge and not the majorities. It appears to us that with the attitude of mind which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru betrayed in his speech and which the seconder of that resolution equally exhibited in his speech, namely, that the question of minorities and majorities was an artificial one and created to suit vested interests, it is obvious that nothing can come out of the talks that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru recently initiated between himself and Mr. Jinnah. If the Congress is in the belief that this reiteration of its inane pledge to the minorities will satisfy them and that they will be taken in by mere words, the Congress is badly mistaken.

Extract from the STATESMAN, New Delhi Edition, dated the 12th February 1938.

THROUGH MOSLEM EYES.

By Ain-el-Mulk.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Bombay statement of January 2 on the Hindu-Moslem question has produced hopeful reactions and the stage has been set for a talk between the leaders of what, for the sake

of convenience, may be described as Hindu India and Moslem India. Whether the Jinnah-Jawaharlal talks will produce in 1938 better results than the Jinnah-Prasad talks did in 1935 is yet to be seen. Too much optimism would not, however, be justified. The Pundit, by way of annotating his Bombay statement while addressing the U. P. delegates for Haripura at Lucknow, at the end of January, emphatically asserted that in no case would Congress "give up its principles." That was not a hopeful statement because any acceptable formula or pact that may be evolved by the leaders of the Congress and the League would, one may guess, involve the acquiescence of the Congress in separate electorate (at least for a certain period), coalition Ministries, recognition of the League as the one authoritative and representative organisation of Indian Moslems, modification of its attitude on the question of Hindi and its script, scraping of Bande Matram altogether, and possibly a re-designing of the tri-colour flag or at least agreeing to give the flag of the League an equal importance. It is possible that with a little statesmanship on both sides agreement can be reached on all the points without any infringement of the principles of either, but the greatest obstacle to a satisfactory solution would still remain, in the shape of the communalists of the Mahasabha, and the irreconcilables of Bengal, all of whom are not of the Mahasabha alone. The right of the Congress to speak in the name of Hindus has been openly challenged

and even the Jinnah-Prasad formula which did not satisfy the Moslems and nothing on the lines of which is now likely to satisfy them—has been vehemently denounced by Bengal Provincial Conference held at Vishnupur which recently passed an extremely communal resolution, and that the latest utterances of the Congress President-elect on the communal situation generally and the Jinnah-Prasad formula in particular show some restraint. The only thing for Muslims to do in the circumstances is to wait and hope for the best, without relaxing their efforts to add daily to the strength of the League for it will not do to forget that it is the growing power and representative character of the Moslem League which has compelled Congress leaders to recognize the necessity for an understanding with the Moslem community.

1. Woodburn Park,
Calcutta, April 6, 1938.

M. A. Jinnah Esqr. M. L. A.,
1, Hastings Road,
New Delhi.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter of the 17th March reached me in the Kumaun Hills where I had gone for a brief holiday. From there I have come to Calcutta. I propose to return to Allahbad to-day and I shall probably be there for the greater part of April. If it is

convenient for you to come there we could meet. Or if it suits you better to go to Lucknow I shall try to go there.

I am glad that you have indicated in your last letter a number of points which you have in mind. The enclosures you have sent mention these and I take it that they represent your viewpoint. I was some what surprised to see this list as I had no idea that you wanted to discuss many of these matters with us. Some of these are wholly covered by previous decisions of the Congress, some others are hardly capable of discussion.

As far as I can make out from your letter and the enclosures you have sent, you wish to discuss the following matters:—

(1) The Fourteen points formulated by the Muslim League in 1929.

(2) The Congress should withdraw all opposition to the Communal Award and should not describe it as a negation of nationalism.

(3) The share of the Muslims in the State services should be definitely fixed in the constitution by statutory enactment.

(4) Muslim Personal Law and culture should be guaranteed by Statute.

(5) The Congress should take in hand the agitation in connection with the Shahidganj mosque and should use its moral pressure to

enable the Muslims to gain possession of the mosque.

(6) The Muslims' right to call Azan and perform their religious ceremonies should not be fettered in any way.

(7) Muslims should have freedom to perform cow-slaughter.

(8) Muslim majorities in the Provinces, where such majorities exist at present, must not be affected by any territorial redistribution or adjustments.

(9) The Bande Mataram song should be given up.

(10) Muslims want Urdu to be the national language of India and they desire to have statutory guarantees that the use of Urdu shall not be curtailed or damaged.

(11) Muslim representation in local bodies should be governed by the principles underlying the Communal Award, that is separate electorates and population strength.

(12) The tri-colour flag should be changed or, alternatively, the flag of the Muslim League should be given equal importance.

(13) Recognition of the Muslim League as the one authoritative and representative organisation of Indian Muslims.

(14) Coalition ministries.

It is further stated that the formula evolved by you and Babu Rajendra Prasad in 1935 does not satisfy the Muslims now and nothing on those lines will satisfy them.

It is added that the list given above is not a complete list and that it can be augmented by the addition of further 'demands.' Not knowing these possible and unlimited additions I can say nothing about them. But I should like to deal with the various matters specifically mentioned and to indicate what the Congress attitude has been in regard to them.

But before considering them, the political and economic background of the free India we are working for has to be kept in mind for ultimately that is the controlling factor. Some of these matters do not arise in considering an independent India or take a particular shape or have little importance. We can discuss them in terms of Indian independence or in terms of the British dominance of India continuing. The Congress naturally thinks in terms of independence, though it adjusts itself occasionally to the present transitional and temporary phases. It is thus not interested in amendments to the present constitution, but aims at its complete removal and its substitution by a constitution framed by the Indian people through a Constituent Assembly.

Another matter has assumed an urgent and vital significance and this is the exceedingly critical

international situation and the possibility of war. This must concern India greatly and affect her struggle for freedom. This must therefore be considered the governing factor of the situation and almost everything else becomes of secondary importance, for all our efforts and petty arguments will be of little avail if the foundation is upset. The Congress has clearly and repeatedly laid down its policy in the event of such a crisis and stated that it will be no party to imperialist war. Peace, therefore, and Indian independence is its basic policy. The Congress will very gladly and willingly co-operate with the Muslim League and all other organisations and individuals in the furtherance of this policy.

I have carefully looked through the various matters to which you have drawn attention in your letter and its enclosures and I find that there is nothing in them which refers to or touches the economic demands of the masses or affects the all-important questions of poverty and unemployment. For all of us in India these are the vital issues and unless some solution is found for them, we function in vain. The question of State services, howsoever important and worthy of consideration it might be, affects a very small number of people. The peasantry, industrial workers, artisans and petty shopkeepers form the vast majority of the population and they are not improved in any way by any of the demands listed above. Their interests should be paramount.

Many of the 'demands' involve changes of the

constitution which we are not in a position to bring about. Even if some such changes are desirable in themselves, it is not our policy to press for minor constitutional changes. We want to do away completely with the present constitution and replace it by another for a free India.

In the same way the desire for statutory guarantees involves constitutional changes which we cannot give effect to. All we can is to state that in a future constitution for a free India we want certain guarantees to be incorporated. We have done this in regard to religious, cultural, linguistic and other rights of minorities in the Karachi resolution on Fundamental Rights. We would like these fundamental rights to be made a part of the constitution.

I now deal with the various matters listed above.

1. The fourteen Points, I had thought, were somewhat out of date. Many of their provisions have been given effect to by the Communal Award and in other ways; some others are entirely acceptable to the Congress; yet others require constitutional changes which, as I have mentioned above, are beyond our present competence. Apart from the matters covered by the Communal Award and those involving a change in the constitution, one or two matters remain which give rise to difference of opinion and which are still likely to lead to considerable argument.

2. The Congress has clearly stated its attitude towards the Communal Award, and it comes to this

that it seeks altertions only on the basis of mutual consent of the parties concerned. I do not understand how any one can take objection to this attitude and policy. If we are asked to describe the Award as not being anti-national, that would be patently false. Even apart from what it gives to various groups, its whole basis and structure are anti-national and come in the way of the development of national unity. As you know it gives an overwhelming and wholly undeserving weightage to the European elements in certain parts of India. If we think in terms of an independent India we cannot possibly fit in this Award with it. It is true that under stress of circumstances we have sometimes to accept as a temporary measure some thing that is on the face of it anti-national. It is also true that in the matters governed by the Communal Award we can only find a satisfactory and abiding solution by the consent and good-will of the parties concerned. That is the Congress policy.

3. The fixing of the Muslims' share in the State services by statutory enactment necessarily involves the fixing of the shares of other groups and communities similarly. This would mean a rigid and compartmental State structure which will impede progress and development. At the same time it is generally admitted that State appointments should be fairly and adquately distributed and no community should have cause to complain. It is far better to do this by convention and agreement. The Congress is fully alive to this issue and desires to meet the

wishes of various groups in the fullest measure, so as to give to all minority communities, as stated in No. 11 of the Fourteen Points, "an adequate shares in all the services of the State and in local self-governing bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency." The State today is becoming more and more technical and demands expert knowledge in its various departments. It is right that, if a community is backward in this technical and expert knowledge, special efforts should be made to give it this education to bring it up to a higher level.

I understand that at the Unity Conference held at Allahabad in 1933 or thereabouts, a mutually satisfactory solution of this question of State services was arrived at.

4. As regards protection of culture the Congress has declared its willingness to embody this in the fundametal laws of the constitution. It has also declared that it does not wish to interfere in any way with the personal law of any community.

5. I am considerably surprised at the suggestion that the Congress should take in hand the agitation in connection with the Shahidganj mosque. That is a matter to be decided either legally or by mutual agreement. The Congress prefers in all such matters the way of mutual agreement and its services can always be utilised for this purpose where there is an opening for them and a desire to this effect on the part of the parties concerned. I am glad that the

Premier of the Punjab has suggested that this is the only satisfactory way to a solution of the problem.

6. The right to perform religious ceremonies should certainly be guaranteed to all communities. The Congress resolution about this is quite clear. I know nothing about the particular incident relating to a Punjab village which has been referred to. No doubt many instances can be gathered together from various parts of India where petty interferences take place with Hindu, Muslim or Sikh ceremonies. These have to be tactfully dealt with wherever they arise. But the principle is quite clear and should be agreed to.

7. As regards cow-slaughter there has been a great deal of entirely false and unfounded propaganda against the Congress suggesting that the Congress was going to stop it forcibly by legislation. The Congress does not wish to undertake any legislative action in this matter to restrict the established rights of the Muslims.

8. The question of territorial redistribution has not arisen in any way. If and when it arises it must be dealt with on the basis of mutual agreement of the parties concerned.

9. Regarding the Bande Mataram song the Working Committee issued a long statement in October last to which I would invite your attention. First of all it has to be remembered that no formal national anthem has been adopted by the Congress at any time. It is true, however, that the Bande Mataram

song has been intimately associated with Indian nationalism for more than thirty years and numerous associations of sentiment and sacrifice have gathered round it. Popular songs are not made to order, nor can they be successfully imposed. They grow out of public sentiment. During all these thirty or more years the Bande Mataram song was never considered as having any religious significance and was treated as a national song in praise of India. Nor, to my knowledge, was any objection taken to it except on political grounds by the Government. When, however some objections were raised, the Working Committee carefully considered the matter and ultimately decided to recommend that certain stanzas, which contained certain allegorical references, might not be used on national platforms or occasions. The two stanzas that have been recommended by the Working Committee for use as a national song have not a word or a phrase which can offend anybody from any point of view and I am surprised that any one can object to them. They may appeal to some more than to others. Some may prefer another national song; they have full freedom to do so. But to compel large numbers to give up what they have long valued and grown attached to is to cause needless hurt to them and injure the national movement itself. It would be improper for a national organization to do this.

10. About Urdu and Hindi I have previously written to you and have also sent you my pamphlet on "The Question of Language." The Congress has

declared in favour of guarantees for languages and culture. It wants to encourage all the great provincial languages of India and at the same time to make Hindustani, as written both in the *nagri* and Urdu scripts, the national language. Both scripts should be officially recognised and the choice should be left to the people concerned. In fact this policy is being pursued by the Congress Ministries.

11. The Congress has long been of opinion that joint electorates are preferable to separate electorates from the point of view of national unity and harmonious cooperation between the different communities. But joint electorates, in order to have real value, must not be imposed on unwilling groups. Hence the Congress is quite clear that their introduction should depend on their acceptance by the people concerned. This is the policy that is being pursued by the Congress Ministries in regard to local bodies. Recently in a bill dealing with local bodies introduced in the Bombay Assembly, separate electorates were maintained but an option was given to the people concerned to adopt joint electorate, if they so chose. This principle seems to be in exact accordance with No. 5 of the Fourteen Points, which lays down that "Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorate as at present, provided that it shall be open to any community, at any time, to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate. It surprises me that the Muslim League group in the Bombay Assembly should have opposed the Bill with its

optional clause although this carried out the very policy of the Muslim League.

May I also point out that in the resolution passed by the Muslim League in 1929, at the time it adopted the Fourteen Points, it was stated that "the Musalmans will not consent to joint electorates unless Sind is actually constituted into a separate province and reforms in fact are introduced in the N.-W. F. Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces." Since then Sind has been separated and the N.-W. F. Province has been placed on a level with other provinces. So far as Baluchistan is concerned the Congress is committed to a levelling up of this area in the same way.

12. The National tri-colour Flag was adopted originally in 1920 by the Congress after full and careful consultation with eminent Muslim, Sikh and other leaders. Obviously a country and a national movement must have a national flag representing the nation and all communities in it. No communal flag can represent the nation. If we did not possess a national flag now we would have to evolve one. The present National Flag had its colours originally selected in order to represent the various communities, but we did not like to lay stress on this communal aspect of the colours. Artistically I think the combination of orange, white and green has resulted in a flag which is probably the most beautiful of all national flags For these many years our flag has been used and it has

spread to the remotest village and cottage and brought hope and a sense of all India unity to our masses. It has been associated with great sacrifices on the part of our people, including Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, and many have suffered lathi blows and imprisonment and even death in defending it from insult or injury. Thus a powerful sentiment has grown up in its favour. On innumerable occasions Maulana Mohamad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali and many leaders of the Muslim League today have associated themselves with this flag and emphasised its virtues and significance as a symbol of Indian unity. It has spread outside the Congress ranks and been generally recognised as the flag of the nation. It is difficult to understand how anyone can reasonably object to it now.

Communal flags cannot obviously take its place for that can only mean a host of flags of various communities being used together and thus emphasising our disunity and separateness. Communal flags might be used for religious function or over any public building meant for various communities.

May I add that during the past few months, on several occasions, the National Flag has been insulted by some members or volunteers of the Muslim League. This has pained us greatly but we have deliberately avoided anything in the nature of conflict in order not to add to communal bitterness. We have also issued strict orders, and they have been obeyed, that no interference should take place with the Muslim

League Flag, even though it might be inappropriately displayed.

13. I do not understand what is meant by our recognition of the Muslim League as the one and only organisation of Indian Muslims. Obviously the Muslim League is an important communal organisation and we deal with it as such. But we have to deal with all organisations and individuals that come within our ken. We do not determine the measure of importance or distinction they possess. There are a large number, about a hundred thousand, of Muslims on the Congress rolls, many of whom have been our close companions, in prisons and outside, for many years and we value their comradeship highly. There are many organisations which contain Muslims and non-Muslims alike, such as Trade Unions, Peasant Unions, Kisan Sabhas, Debt Committees, Zamindar associations, Chambers of Commerce, Employees Associations, etc. and we have contacts with them. There are special Muslim organisations such as the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the Proja Party, the Ahrars and others, which claim attention. Inevitably the more important the organisation the more the attention paid to it, but this importance does not come from outside recognition but from inherent strength. And the other organisations, even though they might be younger and smaller, cannot be ignored.

14. I should like to know what is meant by coalition ministries. A ministry must have a definite

political and economic programme and policy. Any other kind of ministry would be a disjointed and ineffective body, with no clear mind or direction. Given a common political and economic programme and policy, co-operation is easy. You know probably that some such co-operation was sought for and obtained by the Congress in the Frontier Province. In Bombay also repeated attempts were made on behalf of the Congress to obtain this co-operation on the basis of a common programme. The Congress has gone to the Assemblies with a definite programme and in furtherance of a clear policy. It will always gladly co-operate with other groups, whether it is in a majority or a minority in an Assembly, in furtherance of that programme and policy. On that basis I can conceive of even coalition ministries being formed. Without that basis the Congress has no interest in a Ministry or in an Assembly.

I have dealt, I am afraid at exceeding length, with the various points raised in your letter and its enclosures. I am glad that I have had a glimpse into your mind through this correspondence as this enables me to understand a little better the problems that are before you and perhaps others. I agree entirely that it is the duty of every Indian to bring about harmonious joint effort of all of us for the achievement of India's freedom and the ending of the poverty of her people. For me, and I take it for most of us, the Congress has been a means to

that end and not an end in itself. It has been a privilege for us to work through the Congress because it has drawn to itself the love of millions of our countrymen, and through their sacrifice and united effort, taken us a long way to our goal. But much remains to be done and we have all to pull together to that end.

Personally the idea of pacts and the like does not appeal to me, though perhaps they might be necessary occasionally. What seems to be far more important is a more basic understanding of each other, bringing with it the desire and ability to co-operate together. That larger co-operation, if it is to include our millions, must necessarily be in the interests of these millions. My mind therefore is continually occupied with the problems of these unhappy masses of this country and I view all other problems in this light. I should like to view the communal problem also in this perspective for otherwise it has no great significance for me.

You seem to imagine that I wanted you to put forward suggestions as a petitioner, and then you propose that the Congress should officially communicate with you. Surely you have misunderstood me and done yourself and me an injustice. There is no question of petitioning either by you or by me, but a desire to understand each other and the problem that we have been discussing. I do not understand the significance of your wanting an official intimation from the Congress. I did not ask you

for an official reply on behalf of the Muslim League. Organisations do not function in this way. It is not a question of prestige for the Congress or for any of us, for we are keener on reaching the goal we have set before us, than on small matters of prestige. The Congress is a great enough organisation to ignore such petty matters, and if some of us have gained a measure of influence and popularity, we have done so in the shadow of the Congress.

You will remember that I took the initiative in writing to you and requesting you to enlighten me as to what your objections were to the Congress policy and what according to you, were the points in dispute. I had read many of your speeches, as reported in the press and I found to my regret that they were full of strong attacks on the Congress which, according to my way of thinking, were not justified. I wanted to remove any misunderstanding, where such existed, and to clear the air.

I have found, chiefly in the Urdu press, the most astounding falsehoods about the Congress, I refer to facts, not to opinions, and to facts within my knowledge. Two days ago, here in Calcutta, I saw a circular letter or notice issued by a secretary of a Muslim League. This contained a list of the so-called misdeeds of the U. P. Government. I read this with amazement for there was not an atom of truth in most of the charges. I suppose they were garnered from the Urdu press. Through the press

and the platform such charges have been repeated on numerous occasions and communal passions have thus been roused and bitterness created. This has grieved me and I have sought by writing to you and to Nawab Ismail Khan to find a way of checking this deplorable deterioration of our public life, as well as surer basis for co-operation. That problem still faces us and I hope we shall solve it.

I have mentioned earlier in this letter the critical International situation and the terrible sense of impending catastrophe that hangs over the world. My mind is obsessed with this and I want India to realize it and be ready for all consequences, good or ill, that may flow from it. In this period of world crisis, all of us, to whatever party or group we might belong and whatever our differences might be, have the primary duty of holding together to protect our people from the perils that might encompass them. Our differences and arguments seem trivial when the future of the world and of India hangs in the balance. It is in the hope that all of us will succeed in building up this larger unity in our country that I have written to you and others repeatedly and at length.

There is one small matter I should like to mention. The report of my speech at Haripura, as given in your letter and the newspaper article, is not correct.

We have been corresponding for some time and

many vague rumours float about as to what we have been saying to each other. Anxious inquiries come to me and I have no doubt that similar inquiries are addressed to you also. I think that we might take the public into our confidence now for this is a public matter in which many are interested. I suggest therefore that our correspondence might be released to the press. I presume you will have no objection.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

Little Gibbs Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay, April 12, 1938.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
Allahabad, U. P.

Dear Pandit Jawaharlal,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 6th April, 1938. I am extremely obliged to you for informing me that you propose to return to Allahabad and shall probably be there for the greater part of April and suggesting that, if it would be convenient for me to come there, we could meet, or, if it suits me better to go to Lucknow you will try to go there. I am afraid that it is not possible for me owing to my other engagements, but I shall be in Bombay about the end of April and if it is convenient to you, I shall be very glad to meet you.

As to the rest of your letter, it has been to me a most painful reading. It seems to me that you cannot even accurately interpret my letter, as you very honestly say that your "mind is obsessed with the International situation and the terrible sense of impending catastrophe that hangs over the world," so you are thinking in terms entirely divorced from realities which face us in India. I can only express my great regret at your turning and twisting what I wrote to you and putting entirely a wrong complexion upon the position I have placed before you at your request. You have formulated certain points in your letter which you father upon me to begin with as my proposals. I sent you extracts from the press which had recently appeared simply because I believed you when you repeatedly asserted and appealed to me that you would be grateful if I would refer you to any recent statements made in the press or platform which would help you in understanding matters. Those are some of the matters which are undoubtedly agitating Muslim India, but the question how to meet them and to what extent and by what means and methods, is the business, as I have said before, of every true nationalist to solve. Whether constitutional changes are necessary, whether we should do it by agreement or conventions and so forth, are matters, I thought, were for discussion, but I am extremely sorry to find that you have in your letter already pronounced your judgment and given your decisions on a good many of them with a preamble

which negatives any suggestion of discussion which may lead to a settlement, as you start by saying "I was so much surprised to see this list as I have no idea that you wanted to discuss many of these matters with us; some of these are wholly covered by previous decisions of the Congress, some others are hardly capable of discussion," and then you proceed to your conclusions having formulated the points according to your own notions. Your tone and language again display the same arrogance and militant spirit as if the Congress is the sovereign power, and, as an indication, you extend your patronage by saying that "obviously the Muslim League is an important communal organisation and we deal with it as such, as we have to deal with all organisations and individuals that come within our ken. We do not determine the measure of importance or distinction they possess" and then you mention various other organisations. Here I may add that in my opinion, as I have publicly stated so often, that, unless the Congress recognises the Muslim League on a footing of complete equality and is prepared as such to negotiate for a Hindu-Muslim settlement, we shall have to wait and depend upon our inherent strength which will "determine the measure of importance or distinction it possesses." Having regard to your mentality it is really difficult for me to make you understand the position any further. Of course, as I have said before, I do not propose to discuss the various matters, referred to by you, by means of or through correspondence, as, in my opinion,

that is not the way to tackle this matter.

With regard to your reference to certain falsehoods that have appeared about the Congress in the Urdu press, which, you say, have astounded you, and with regard to the circular letter referred to about the misdeeds of the U. P. Government, I can express no opinion without investigation but I can give you any number of instances of falsehoods that have appeared in the Congress press and in statements of Congressmen with regard to the All-India Muslim League, some of the leaders and those who are connected with it. Similarly I can give you instances of reports appearing in the Congress press and speeches of Congressmen which are daily deliberately misrepresenting and villifying the Muslim composition of the Bengal, Punjab, Sind and Assam Governments with a view to break those Governments, but that is not the subject-matter of our correspondence and besides no useful purpose will be served in doing so.

With regard to your request that our correspondence should be released to the press, I have no objection provided the correspondence between me and Mr. Gandhi is also published simultaneously, as we both have referred to him and his correspondence with me in ours. You will please therefore obtain the permission of Mr. Gandhi to that effect or, if you wish, I will write to him, informing him that you desire to release the correspondentce between us to the press and I am willing to agree to it provided he agrees

that the correspondence between him and myself is also released.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

Anand Bhawan,
Allahabad. April 16, 1938.

M. A. Jinnah Esq.,
Little Gibbs Road,
Bombay.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your letter of April 12th has just reached me.

I am exceedingly sorry that anything that I have written to you should have caused you pain. It seems to be true that we approach public problems from different standpoints and inevitably I try to place my viewpoint before you and seek to gain your appreciation of it. To say anything that might pain you would defeat my own purpose, even apart from its impropriety. At the same time I owe it to you and to myself to endeavour to place frankly before you how my mind works and what my views are on the subject-matter under discussion. Our viewpoints might differ, but I do believe that the margin of difference can be lessened by a frank approach on either side. I have sought to make this approach in all sincerity and with every desire on my part not to say anything that might come in the way.

In my last letter I dealt with the various points

mentioned in the extracts you had sent me as I presumed that, as you had drawn my attention to them, they might to a large extent represent what you had in mind. As you know I have been trying to get at these points of difference and when I saw something concrete I wanted to give my reaction to it. I tried to state what the Congress opinion has been in regard to them. There is no finality in day-to-day politics although certain principles are supposed to govern politics. It is for the Congress, if it so chooses, to vary any policy. All I can do is to state what the past and present policy is.

I regret that you think that I write in an arrogant and militant spirit and as if I considered the Congress as the sovereign power. I am painfully conscious of the fact that the Congress is not a sovereign power and that it is limited and circumscribed in a hundred ways and further that it may have to go through the wilderness many a time again before it achieves its objective. You have referred to my obsession with the International situation and the sense of impending catastrophe that possesses me. If I feel that way, as I do, I can hardly grow complacent or imagine that the Congress is sovereign. But when I discuss Congress policies, as a Congress-man I can only repeat what these are and not bring in my own particular views on the subject, if these happen to be at variance with Congress resolutions.

You point out to me that the Congress press has

contained numerous falsehoods in regard to the Muslim League and some of its leaders, as well as the provincial governments of Bengal, Punjab, Sind and Assam. I entirely agree with you that falsehoods, misrepresentations and insinuations are to be deprecated and countered wherever they might occur, in the Urdu, Hindi or English press, or whatever the political complexion of the newspaper. There is no such thing as the Congress Press over which the Congress has control, but it is true that many newspapers generally support the Congress. But whether we can inflence them or not, we certainly want to stop all such false and misleading statements and to express our disapproval of them. In this matter I can only beg of you to point out specific instances so that we might take necessary action.

I note what you say about the publication of our correspondence. I have not got with me copies of your correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi. I am therefore writing to him to seek his permission as suggested by you.

I am afraid it will hardly be possible for me to visit Bombay in April or May. Early in June I intend sailing for Europe. In case I go to Bombay earlier I shall inform you so that we might have the opportunity of meeting. I understand that you will be meeting Mahatma Gandhi in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

CHAPTER XIII

Jinnah Shuns Settlement

MR. Jinnah kept the so-called Muslim demands in his sleeves. Even for the Muslims he hid his lights under the Mount Pleasant bushels. All attempts by Pandit Nehru to make Mr Jinnah pen down once and for all, all that the Muslim League wanted, proved abortive. However Mr. Jinnah did not mind "talking" the matter over. But the Congress leaders were wiser this time after having had a bitter experience of the infructuous verbal discussions of 1935 between Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Congress President, and Mr. Jinnah.

In those discussions, an agreed formula was finally evolved after a good deal of discussions. But Mr. Jinnah had entered into talks with Dr. Rajendra Prasad not so much with the idea of coming to a communal settlement, as with the idea of making capital out of the most probable failure of the talks. But when Dr. Rajendra Prasad, bent upon stamping out mischief, practically gave in and an agreed formula emerged, Mr. Jinnah found that he had been in for a bad bargain; he put up a silly obstacle. "Get this formula signed by such and such Hindu leaders and only then I shall accept it." Dr. Rajendra Prasad argued "Look here friend, it is

unnecessary. I promise to get it ratified by the Congress. The Congress gave a rout to the Hindu Communalists who have no following in the Hindu masses. Why insist on their approval?" But Mr. Jinnah is a specialist in negativing every reasonable offer. The Communal leaders did not sign the agreement and Mr. Jinnah had a hair breadth escape from it, and was released to pursue his pet game amongst the Muslims. Nothing to wonder. It has been said that dogs drink at the river Nile running along so that they may not be siezed by crocodiles. Later on there arose a difference as to the facts of Rajendra Prasad-Jinnah talks, Mr. Jinnah giving a version, which Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and the Congress secretariat challenged. Those who know what regard for truth the Congress and the Muslim League have, can easily guess on which side the truth could be. But as the talks were verbal, Mr. Jinnah was safe in his trenches, and the Congress could not give documentary proof to the world that Mr. Jinnah had gone back on his words.

Therefore Pandit Nehru was wiser after the above event and persisted in getting in black and white what Mr. Jinnah and his League wanted. But Mr. Jinnah was equally shrewd. He was so conscious of his weak stand, that he would not like to commit himself in writing. Otherwise there was no sense in his refusals. Let our Muslim brothers reflect upon the honesty and straightforwardness of their Qaid-i-Azam.

Summarised, this is how Mr. Jinnah behaved.

1. When requested by Pandit Nehru that he should let the Congress have the concise demands of the Muslim League he refused to do so.

2. When Pandit Nehru too much insisted and Mr. Jinnah found it impossible to resist without putting himself in a wrong position, he tried to put off Pandit Nehru by asking him to read a large number of newspaper articles, and press statements and find out himself what the Muslim demands were!

3. Even when this hurdle was crossed and Pandit Nehru formulated all possible demands and referred to Mr. Jinnah, if that was all, Pandit Nehru was told "They can be multiplied."

4. Even still when Pandit Nehru was willing to give in, Mr. Jinnah came forward with a new demand "Recognise the Muslim League as the only representative organisation of Mussalmans." How could the Congress ignore the tens of thousands of Mussalmans on its rolls—true and honest people who had suffered imprisonments cheerfully in answer to the country's call? How could the Congress ignore the Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, the Ahrars, and lacs of Khudai Khidmatgars in the Frontier? Jinnah's game was to isolate the nationalist Muslims and leave them and the Congress stranded.

5. Even when the Congress itching for ending the mischief admitted the League as a very important

communal organisation, Mr. Jinnah went on multiplying his demands, and finally he has now come to his mischievous Pakistan.

All that he seems to be driving at is, that he wants to create conditions, where it may be altogether impossible to have a settlement, and thus there may be an excuse for Mr. Jinnah to exist. If the demands are all reasonable, they may be accepted. In the event of a settlement, the League and its leader would have no other course except to join the Congress. The Congress might start civil Disobedience and along with Pandit Nehru Mr. Jinnah, might be called upon to pack up his kit for the prison!

The last time, very recently, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had a long interview with Mr. Jinnah, it is said that almost every thing was settled, and a united demand came to be formulated to be presented to the British Government. Then the question arose; if the British Government turned down the demand, what was to be done? "We shall fight" said Pandit Nehru. But Mr. Jinnah refused to take that course! That was quite in keeping with his mentality.

The talks between Mr. Jinnah on the one side, and Pandit Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi, and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose on the other side broke on the silly insistence of Mr. Jinnah to recognise him (through the League) as the only spokesman of the 90 millions of Mussalmans of India!

After reading the correspondence between Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Jinnah, one feels that if Mr. Jinnah had been in some free European country, his place might have been in some concentration camp !

CHAPTER XIV

Deliverance Day

MR. Jinnah and the Muslim League began exciting the innocent Mussalmans by floating false stories of Congress "*Zoolam*" on the Mussalmans in the eight Congress Provinces.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Bengal Premier, forgetting his sense of responibility, made most insensible charges of Congress oppression on the Muslims. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at once challenged him in public and also in private asked him to substantiate the allegations. The lion of Bengal—as he is fondly called by some Muslim Leaguers—only knew how to roar in the wilderness. When confronted by the Congress lion, he only turned his tail down and ran away! When he was further pursued by Maulana Azad, he gave a thousand apologies and said that he was rather emotional and did not mean what he said!

For some time it was felt that the lies against the Congress would cease. But the Muslim Leaguer who never puts any premium on his pledged words, again came forward with charges of Congress atrocities. The worst is that again it was the 'Lion of Bengal' who thought that he must roar, lest others in the jungle forgot his presence! This time he issued a

'challenge' to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and asked him to go with him in the Congress Provinces, and he would prove to the hilt, his charges against the Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he read the statement in the press at once took up the challenge and wrote a letter to Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq asking him to fix the time and programme, and also issued a public statement, a copy of which he sent to Mr. Fazlul Huq. Here is the statement:—

"I have read in the press what Mr. Fazlul Huq is pleased to call his challenge to me. I am not gifted with Mr. Fazlul Haq's rich imagination. My mind is more earthly and likes to dabble in facts before it arrives at conclusions and so I welcome this long belated offer of Mr. Fazlul Huq and accept it in its entirety.

"He and his colleagues have been in the habit of making fantastic charges against Congress Governments and every time we have requested them to specify these charges and to justify them, every time they have avoided this obvious course. Being a lover of words and phrases and their patterns, I have admired this infinite capacity for avoiding the issue and wrapping it up in innumerable floods of quibbling and vituperation. Does Mr. Fazlul Huq remember the invitation so often extended to him by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in public and private, to specify his complaints and charges

and to establish them? But he has consistently refused to take advantage of this invitation and often said that he uses words in the heat of the moment which he regrets afterwards.

"I accept, therefore, his offer or challenge and am prepared to inquire into specific instances in his company. He has stated that his quarrel is with the U. P. Government but the instances he cites relate to two other provinces also. He mentions six instances: (1) A circular about the hanging up of Gandhiji's picture, (2) the firing at Tanda, (3) the Cawnpore firing (4) the Bhagalpur outrages whatever they might mean (5) the firing on Khaksars in a jail and (6) the action taken against newspapers calling for securities.

"I suggest to Mr. Fazlul Huq to state his cause in regard to these instances, beginning with those relating to the United Provinces so that he and I can immediately start our inquiries in regard to them.

"The Congress Ministries have resigned or are resigning for more vital national reasons which do not affect Mr. Fazlul Huq and I am not particularly interested in what Mr. Huq does in the matter of resignation. But I am interested in finding the truth and I invite Mr. Fazlul Haq's co-operation in this."

To this letter Mr. Fazal-ul-Huq replied on 3rd November that he was not keeping fit, and moreover

those were Ramzan days, therefore he would not be able to take the tour until the end of Ramzan. He would fix up a tour programme of all the provinces, and would let Pandit Nehru know. He hoped that Pandit Nehru would be able to accompany him at a week's notice. In the end he again repeated his conviction that the Congress had committed atrocities, and he thanked Pandit Nehru for accepting his challenge.

Ramzan was over. Time passed on and there was no letter from Mr. Fazlul Huq. The lion of Bengal was perhaps in deep slumber! Pandit Nehru after waiting a good deal, shook the "lion" and reminded him of his promise to start on a tour. But the lion only 'yawned'! "Thanks for your letter dated 18th November 1939. For the present I am very busy, therefore I am only acknowledging the receipt of your letter. Later on I shall reply to it in details."

Never was this detailed reply received by Pandit Nehru, though he was anxiously waiting for it. Never was that tour programme fulfilled. Never did the Bengal Premier hold the enquiry to which Pandit Nehru was to be invited. Never were the mean charges against the Congress Governments corroborated or proved, though challenged time and again by the Congress!

Mr. Fazlul Huq only satisfied himself by issuing a very belated statement asserting his allegations

based upon certain reports appearing in the gutter press. (For the entire Muslim League press is nothing if not a gutter press).

The League Press again pooh-poohed this statement and its author*. Not a single one of them chastised Mr. Huq, for having issued a challenge to Pandit Nehru, and when the latter accepted it, for having run away from it. But again this is just in keeping with the general morality of a Muslim League public man or press organ.

This is about the "Lion" of the Muslim League. Let us turn to its Qaid-i-Azam. The Muslim League appointed an enquiry Committee presided over by Raja of Pirpur, to look into the alleged atrocities of the Congress over the Muslims. After touring the Congress Provinces, the committee submitted an 82 page report. The report was not available to the public at large. Mr. Jinnah was ashamed of placing it before the bulk of the Mussalmans. Somehow it came into the hands of a few newspapers. The Congress governments at once issued lengthy statements contradicting the shameless lies of the Muslim

*Recently Mr. Fazalul Huq addressing a public meeting in Calcutta said about one Congress Government "I have always admired Madras for its freedom from the virus of Communalism. The Major (Hindu) community in Madras knows how to win the confidence of Minority Community by respecting the Legitimate rights of the latter. When I was last in Madras, I searchingly examined if the minorities harboured any grievances against the majority community and I found no such grievance existed." Speech dated 21st January, 1941 at National High School, Calcutta.

League and the Congress challenged the League to substantiate them. There was no response. Repetition is the most essential element of all Propaganda whether true or false. The League began to create bad blood between the Hindus and Muslims, by misrepresenting the Congress Raj as Hindu Raj and representing that Hindus had been cruel to the Muslims. When it was found that innocent, illiterate Muslims were being stirred up by mischief mongers, and even the Qaid-i-Azam associated himself with the malicious lies against the Congress Governments, Babu Rajendra Prasad issued another challenge to Mr. Jinnah. He wrote the following letter to him dated 5th October 1939:—

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

"In the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, passed recently in Delhi, reference has been made to Provincial Governments. It is stated that Provincial Autonomy in several Provinces has resulted in the domination of the Hindus over the Muslim minorities whose life and liberty, property and honour are in danger, and even their religious rights and culture are being assailed and annihilated every day under the Congress Governments in various provinces. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has also informed me that you mentioned this matter to him in the course of a recent conversation.

"We feel that these charges are wholly unfounded

and based on misapprehension and one-sided reports that might have reached you and the League. The Governments concerned have inquired into the matter whenever such charges have been made and have denied them. ON A PREVIOUS OCCASION WE EXPRESSED OUR WILLINGNESS TO HAVE ANY SPECIFIC INSTANCES INVESTIGATED BY IMPARTIAL AUTHORIITY. We feel strongly, and I am sure, you will agree with us, that SUCH CHARGES, WHEN SERIOUSLY MADE, SHOULD BE INQUIRED INTO AND EITHER SUBSTANTIATED OR DISPROVED. We would like this course to be adopted in regard to any specific instances that are put forward. IF YOU AGREE WE COULD REQUEST THE HIGHEST JUDICIAL AUTHORITY IN INDIA, SIR M. GWYER, CHIEF JUSTICE of the Federal Court, to inquire into this matter. IN THE EVENT OF HIS NOT BEING AVAILABLE, SOME OTHER PERSON OF A SIMILAR STATUS AND JUDICIAL POSITION MIGHT BE APPROACHED.

"I shall gladly place this matter before the Working Committee of the Congress and get them to pass a formal resolution to this effect.

"I am leaving for Wardha to-day and shall be obliged to you if you will send an early reply. I shall be in Wardha for about a week.

Yours sincerely,
(SD.) RAJENDRA PRASAD."

Mr. Jinnah in reply refused to take any of the courses suggested by the Congress President. In reply Mr. Jinnah wrote:—

> "The matter is now under His Excellency's consideration, and he is the PROPER AUTHORITY to take such action and adopt such measures AS WOULD MEET OUR REQUIREMENTS and would restore complete sense of security and satisfaction amongst the Mussalmans in those provinces where the Congress Ministers are in charge of the Administration..................."
>
> Mr. Jinnah has never taken the public into confidence to tell them as to what the Viceroy did in the matter. Did "the action taken and measure adopted" by the Viceroy "meet the requirements, and restore complete sense of security and satisfaction amongst the Musalmans"?

Mr. Jinnah had written to Babu Rajendra Prasad that the reason of his placing the matter in the hands of the Viceroy was that "he (viceroy) and the Governors of the Provinces have been expressly authorised under the constitution and are entrusted with THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS AND INTEREST OF THE MINORITIES." Presumably Mr. Jinnah's charge-sheet against the Congress was thrown into the waste paper basket! Even the Secretary of State for India in his reply to questions in Parliament thought it useless and not worthwhile to institute

an enquiry into the allegations! This naturally leads to two assumptions. Either the allegations were false or the Provincial Governors were blinking over the action of Congress Ministers in doing injustice to the Muslims. Which position does Mr. Jinnah take up? Most probably the second. Then what did Mr. Jinnah and his League do? Did they raise even their little finger against the Governors? How dare they do it? He and his League can only fret and frown at the Congress!

If there was any honesty left in the League it should either have accepted the challenge of the Congress for an impartial enquiry or should have closed this chapter of lies. But the entire edifice of Muslim League, founded on the sands of falsehood, would have crumbled down if it had taken either course! Therefore Mr. Jinnah still went on repeating the concoctions about Congress oppression, but with a slight difference. He made a most insulting, absurd and impossible demand. "Law Lords should come from England and inquire into my allegations!" As if the Law Lords have no other business in the world, and are only waiting as to when words fall down from the lips of the Qaid-i-Azam, and they sail for India! Mr. Jinnah made himself the laughing stock of the entire world by making this demand. The Congress offer of getting the enquiry made by Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of the Federal Court, did not meet Mr. Jinnah's ends. Neither could Mr. Jinnah find

any other honest man in India to hold the enquiry! Though much against his grain, he has not very much persisted in his demand for Law Lords, and has contented himself by observing a "Deliverance Day."

Why and how a "Deliverance Day"? The war broke out in Europe, between England and Germany. In Eire, Canada, South Africa, and Australia, the people themselves decided whether to join the war or keep out of it. Eire decided to keep out and the other colonies of Great Britain joined the war. In South Africa it was by a narrow majority, that Parliament decided to join the war. But India was declared a belligerent country without consulting its representatives. The Congress felt it as an insult and withdrew its support from the Government. The Congress Ministries in Eight Provinces resigned as a protest, and the Premiers are now suffering imprisonments in the prisons of the provinces which they ruled a short while ago. Mr. Jinnah who has become a pastmaster in the art of creating cheap political sensations and stunts, tried to take advantage of these resignations, by attempting to impress upon the Mussalmans that Congress resignations were God-sent, because God wanted to deliver the Mussalmans from the atrocities of the Congress! He asked the Mussalmans to observe "Deliverance Day"! Perhaps it should be of interest to Mr. Jinnah and the Muslims that the Muslim League Premiers of the Punjab and Bengal were very sorry

over the Congress Ministries' resignation. These resignations they thought were unfortunate for the country!

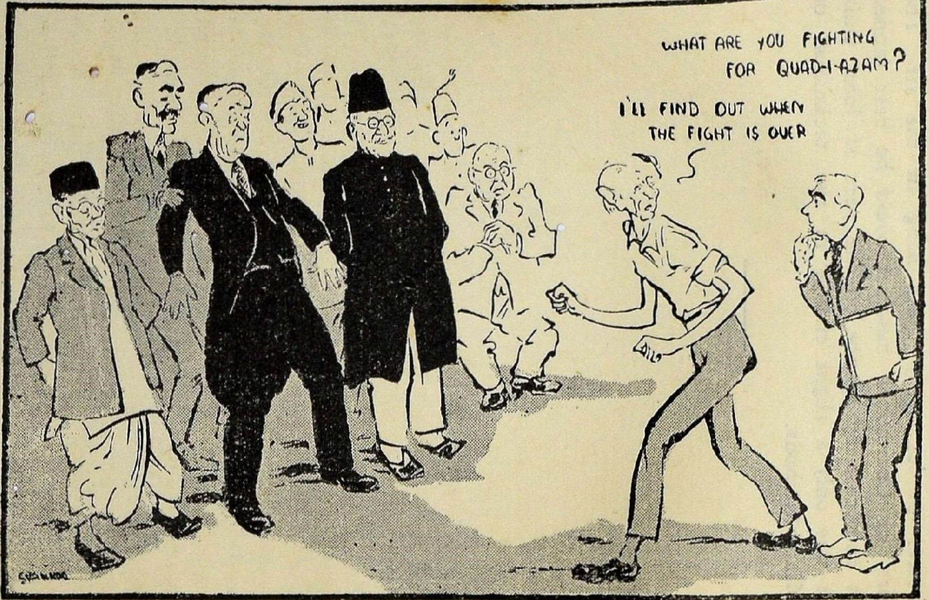
It is gratifying to learn however that such cheap tactics of Mr. Jinnah and his League did not carry the general support or approval of the Musalmans. The "Deliverance Day" was an ignominous failure.

Before we close this chapter on Deliverance Day, we feel constrained to make a reference to John Bull, because our friend has rather been neglected in the foregoing pages.

The silence of the British Raj about the alleged Congress atrocities on the Muslims was simply intriguing. The Congress was anxious for an enquiry, and repeatedly challenged the Muslim League about it. The Muslim League though shirking from it, at least pretended to be willing to have an enquiry. But the British Raj only stared! If to end the Rajkot Muddle Sir Maurice Gwyer's Award could be got, why not hold an enquiry and find out the truth in this case also? If the allegations of the Muslim League were proved to be true, the Muslims would have been completely alienated from the Congress, and it would certainly have been a good bargain for John Bull. But John Bull knew that chances for success of the Muslim League accusations were one per cent, while the chances for vindications of the Congress were 99%. It was therefore

better to let every thing hang in the air. The fire of Communal mischief could be best fanned in this case by silence on the part of John Bull. It was only a slight change in the technique of Minto-Methods.

MORE WAR AIMS.



Courtesy *The Hindustan Times.*

CHAPTER XV

What Are You Fighting For, Qaid-i-Azam?

THE Congress had resigned, and the Deliverance Day was over. On what was Mr. Jinnah to keep his followers engaged? A good dictator is one who does not give his followers time to think. And Mr. Jinnah does pretend to be a dictator, though the pity is that his own kith and kin show insulting disobedience to him, and disown him at times and leave him smarting.

What was the aim before Mr. Jinnah? What did he want to achieve? What for all this fretting and fuming? Why did not the Muslim League have a policy, a programme and an ideal? These were the questions asked in many sober quarters. 'Shankar' the great cartoonist of India, depicted Mr. Jinnah in a wrestling mood showing his fists to Congress, Mr. Savarkar and Lord Linlithgow. A press representative was depicted asking him, "What are you fighting for, Qaid-i-Azam?" And Mr. Jinnah was depicted replying "I shall find out when the fight is over!" This cartoon appeared in one of the most widely read papers in India namely *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, just before the Muslim League session at Lahore.

Mr. Jinnah realised that unless a concrete aim, howsoever ridiculous, absurd or impossible, was placed before his followers they might desert him. And the aim must be an utopian impossibility so that the League might get a perpetual lease to exist for that aim. It was with this obsession in mind that Mr. Jinnah came to Lahore to attend the Muslim League Session. He created a suspense by saying that something new and momentous was coming at Lahore Session. And it was the Pakistan—the cry for the moon. In moving the resolution, it was said that the Muslim League had always been taunted for indulging in destructive work, here was something constructive to plug the mouths of its critics! A scheme for cutting India into parts and to have free Muslim states where there was Muslim majority was put forward before the people, and it was acclaimed as the only panacea of all ills. It is interesting to know the History of this Scheme.

Many schemes of partition of India on communal basis were put forward by a few fanatics, off and on. The idea did not catch the imagination of the people, perhaps because its propounders were rather obscure men in India.

*Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal, the great imaginative poet.

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*Even Dr. Iqbal did not favour Pakista as has been revealed by the following quotation in a recent book :—

"On my vast undisciplined and starving land, Pakistan plan would be disastrous to the British Government, disastrous to the Hindu community, disastrous to Muslims. But I am President of the Muslim League and therefore it is my duty to support it.—" pp. 58, "Enlist India for Freedom," by Edward Thompson.

again put forward the idea at Allahabad in 1930 in his presidential address at the annual conference of the Muslim League. The scheme then attracted the educated Indians, who applied their minds to the pros and cons of the scheme, and found it impracticable and unsuited to Muslims. At the first Round Table Conference, when a joint deputation of the Muslim League and Muslim Conference was giving evidence before Indian Constitutional Reforms Committee, a member of the Committee, Sir Reginald Craddock put a question as to what the Muslim League and Muslim Conference thought about the Pakistan scheme. The leader of the two deputations replied, "As far as I know it is only a student's scheme. No responsible people have put it forward. So far as we have CONSIDERED IT, we have considered it CHIMERICAL and UNPRACTICABLE. It means the federation of certain provinces."

On being further pursued by Sir Reginald the deputation replied, "Perhaps it would be enough to say that no such scheme has been considered by any representative gentleman or association so far." Most of the present day supporters of the Pakistan idea chaffed at it and condemned it in most severe language. Mr. M. A. Jinnah was also opposed to it. At the very first speech that he delivered at the Round Table Conference, he thought of a United India. He was thinking in terms of a Dominion of India. Speaking at the 5th Plenary meeting on 20th November 1930, Mr. Jinnah said, "The Cardinal principle is that

India wants to be a mistress in her own house, and I cannot conceive any constitution that you may frame, which will not transfer RESPONSIBILITY IN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO A CABINET RESPONSIBLE TO THE LEGISLATURE."

Mr. Jinnah was himself a member of Federal Structure Committee and did not oppose the idea of an Indian Federation. The Pakistan idea would have died its natural death, but it got a very sympathetic response in some notorious die-hard quarters in England, in the time of the second Round Table Conference. After that the idea receded into the back-ground, as it was clearly settled that the idea was an utopia.

Till very recently Mr. Jinnah was thinking in terms of "United front," and "United India." The sudden change in the ideas of Mr. Jinnah cannot be easily explained away except that he seems to be suffering from some mental infirmity. Recently Mr. Jinnah said "I firmly believe that the idea of one United India is a dream." May we point out to Mr. Jinnah that since he joined the public life of this country some where in 1907, up to 1937 he has been thinking in terms of a United India, whatever his actions ? Thirty years when he was in the best of his health and thinking faculties! Late in the evening of his life when he is sixty-three years old, weak in body and mind he comes forward with a statement that the idea of a United India is a dream. There should be some limits to hypocrisy. Mr. Jinnah should

"give some credit to others for common sense."

Much has been written and said about Pakistan and it does not need any further exposition. However we shall endeavour to reproduce all arguments advanced by its protagonist and shall add brief and suitable answers. And then we shall leave it to our readers to judge whether the idea of Pakistan benefits any body, particularly the Mussalmans, or it is simply created for the sake of creating a stunt.

Before dealing with the problem we may be allowed to indulge in a little bit of arithmetic. That would help in its understanding.

In India there are about 270 millions of Hindus and 90 millions of Mussalmans. The ratio is 3 : 1.

N. W. F. P., the Punjab, Sind and Bengal are Muslim majority provinces, the rest seven are Hindu majority provinces.

25 million Mussulmans are concentrated in Eastern Bengal and 20 millions in N. W. F. P., Sind and Western Punjab. That leaves us with a balance of one half the entire Muslim population, *i. e.*, 45 million Mussalmans. They are widely sprinkled over in Hindu majority areas. Here is their percentage :—

Orissa	2%	Central Provinces	4%
Madras	6%	Behar	6%
Bombay	8%	United Provinces	14%

In eastern Punjab comprising of Ambala Division, Jullundur Division and a fraction of Lahore Division,

the Muslims are in a hopeless minority and the Hindus including the Sikhs are about 70%. Similarly in Western Bengal also the Hindus are in a preponderance of about 75 per cent. Therefore it must be borne in mind that if a Pakistan is created in theMuslim Majority Zones, 50% of the Muslim population shall still be under the "tyrannical" Hindu Majority. And that half of Bengal which is preponderatingly Hindu shall have to be cut off from Bengal and be added to Bihar and Orrisa. Similarly the preponderating Hindu and Sikh area of the Punjab shall have to be added to United Provinces, because what is good for the ganders must also be good for the geese. It was about a year back that the Muslim League passed the Pakistan Resolution laying down the principle "That *geographically contiguous units* be demarcated into *regions* which should be so constituted with *such territorial re-adjustment* as may be necessary, that the *areas* in which the Muslims are numerically *in a majority* as in the North Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign." The Resolution further laid down that the Working Committee of the League shall frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with the above basic principles providing for the assumption, finally, by the respective regions, of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as might be necessary. More than a year has passed and no such plan has been placed

before the public. Perhaps it shall never be placed lest it may be accepted, and the dog drinking water at the Nile may go into the mouth of the crocodile; or even when it is placed before the public it shall be in such a monstrously absurd form that it shall be impossible to accept it and Mr. Jinnah and his League shall get another lease of life to harp on his communal tunes.

The first question that arises, is when and how shall Mr. Jinnah have his Pakistan ? Shall it be after India is free or even before the freedom of India, *i.e.*, under the ægies of British Raj ? If it is to be after India's freedom, who is going to fight India's battle for freedom ? Obviously not the Muslim League. It is inherently incapable of doing so. A Muslim friend suggested that if the Congress promise to let the League have its Pakistan after freedom, the League would fight for freedom along with the Congress. But we are doutful whether Mr. Jinnah can ever have the courage even so as to frown at the British Government, not to say of giving them a fight. Also we should like to know if Mr. Jinnah does not mind keeping the whole of India under prepetual subjection in case the Congress does not agree to Pakistan ?

If Mr. Jinnah thinks that he shall have Pakistan under the ægies of the British Raj with the help of its bayonets, we can only say he lives in a fools paradise and is grossly ignorant of British history, British character, British interests and British Politics. Mr.

Jinnah has preferred to keep mum on this point. The only inkling of his mind as to how he shall get his Pakistan is given in one of his statements when he said that he shall either be able to persuade the Hindus and the Sikhs or he shall create such inherent strength amongst the Mussalmans that it will not be possible to resist their demand. In simple words pursuasion or coercion are the two weapons in the armoury of Mr. Jinnah. Let him rule out the first and for the second we assure him ten slaps for one.

Now let us dispassionately discuss the various pros and cons of Pakistan though we stand greatly handicapped in the absence of any plan right from the mouth of Muslim League horse.

It is argued on behalf of the Muslim League that India is almost a continent inhabited by many 'nations' and 'races'. Its unity as one country dates from British Rule, before which it had many Independent States, and never in its history, was it a single united country. It is geographically too big to constitute a single country, therefore it must be divided up into small states, Muslim and Hindu.

Perhaps Mr. Jinnah does not or cannot see beyond the tip of his nose. If he only sees at the political map of the world he shall find that Russia, China and United States of America are very big countries. They are known as single countries, composed of single nations, *i. e.*, Russians, Chinese, and Americans. He shall further find that in China, there are quite a large number of Mussalmans. But they are known

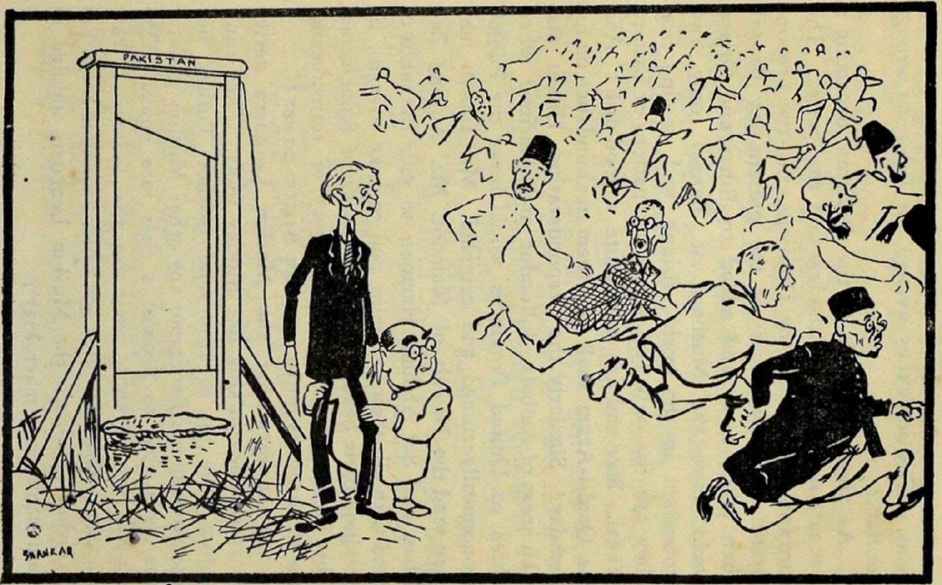
as Chinese. Similarly all Indians are Indians, even though their religion may be Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Jain, Budh, Christian or Parsi. They have all got a common descent. Practically all the Mussalmans in India have got the same descent as Hindus ; they did not come from outside and settle down here, but they were only converted to Islam. No sane man has ever propounded the doctrine that change of religion means a change of 'nationality'. As about Indian unity dating from the British Rule, we would like to tell Mr. Jinnah that in old age, his memory has left him. Even a seventh class student could tell Mr. Jinnah, that at least from Akbar's time the whole of India leaving aside a small tract in the extreme south has been under one constitution. It might startle Mr. Jinnah to know that the Mauriya Empire of India covered not only the whole of India, but even the farthest boundries of Afghanistan. Whenever India has been split up in small independent units, foreign invaders have ransacked the country. If Mr. Jinnah is not self-complacently shutting his eyes, he must have seen the fate of the small countries in Europe. His Pakistan would be no small temptation to Russia and Afghanistan. He might argue that Afghanistan is a Muslim country, and out of religious fervour, it would respect the territorial integrity of the Pakistan. It is silly. The countries at logger heads in Europe are all Christian. Almost all invasions from Afghanistan in the last four hundred years have been on the Muslim Kingdoms of India. Babar, Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah overran the Muslim

Kingdoms of India. In the last Great War the Indian Mussalmans fought against Mussalmans of the Turkish Empire. It was Sir Sikandar who fought against Afghanistan in 1919.

It is said that Pakistan would solve the communal problem of India for all time, and would release the Muslims from the perpetual domination, fear and religious interference of the Hindu majority, and would make them a first rate power in Asia. The absurdity of the suggestion is apparent. Pakistan or no Pakistan, the position of the Muslims in the Muslim Majority provinces is assured. Inspite of the bitter opposition of the Hindus in the Punjab and Bengal, the two governments are heedlessly carrying on their behests. The problem before the League, which gave rise to the idea of Pakistan was the position of the Muslims in Hindu Majority provinces. How does their lot improve ? Would it not worsen on the other hand ? To-day the Muslims have got big weightages, twice or thrice their numerical strength in the Hindu majority provinces. After Pakistan comes into being, this weightage may be taken away and their excess representation may altogether be guillotined.

How is then Pakistan the solution of their ills ? It is said in responsible League Circles that if the Hindu majority mishaves towards the Muslim Minority the Mussalmans shall retaliate by punishing the Hindus in Pakistan. A strange principle of justice. Only the Muslim League brutes could think in such

THE GUILLOTINE WANTS YOU.



Mr. Jinnah is prepared to sacrifice crores of Muslims in the Hindu Majority Provinces.

Courtesy *The Hindustan Times.*

terms. Why don't they avenge the Palestine wrongs like that ?

As about the talk of the Pakistan becoming a first rate Asiatic power the less said the better. The Burdwan and Presidency Divisions, the two preponderatingly Hindu areas of the present-day Bengal, when taken away and added to Bihar and Orissa, would leave the Muslims of Bengal only two professions in the world ; fishing and sowing rice. They are the only two chief occupations of Eastern Bengal. Rice and fish make quite a good dish ! And the Qaid-i-Azam shall get them in abundance on his birthday ! Similarly the preponderating Hindu and Sikh areas of Ambala, Jullundur and Amritsar when added to United Provinces would leave the Punjab economically ruined and crippled. Mr. Jinnah may then send the Nawab of Mamdot, Mr. Aurang Zeb Khan and Sir Abdulla Harroon to gulp the sands of Sind with all their vitamins and to take exercise by breaking their heads against the rocks of Baluchistan. That is the surest and quickest way of transforming the Pakistanists into a first rate Asiatic power !

It appears that the Muslim Leaguers derive pleasure when talking like Motley fools. They can't realise that up to this time neither Turkey nor Afghanistan nor Persia nor any other Muslim country has been able to become a first rate power. One should like to know what are the industries, raw material, mineral wealth and other economic resources on whose strength the Muslim Leaguers indulge in such flamboyant macrology ?

The protagonists of the Pakistan theory further have the audacity to say that Bengal, the Punjab, Sind, N. W. F. P. and Baluchistan would be better off because the custom duty and the income tax, two important heads of Central Revenue would go to the Exchequer of the Pakistan. Probably the Leaguers confuse the fact that Calcutta would be a part of the Pakistan. They do not know that according to the last census there are only 26% Mohammadans in Calcutta as compared with 60% Hindus. After all, the demarcation of zones in the Pakistan is bound to be on some fixed principle which probably would be that where the Muslims are 51% that area may go into Pakistan and where Hindus are above 51% that area may go to Hindustan, of course keeping in view the territorial integrity of the country, *i. e.*, without making it a patch work quilt. Thus the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions in Western Bengal shall have to go to Hindustan because in both the Divisions the Mussalmans are hardly 60 lakhs while the Hindus are 126 lakhs. Therefore the Port of Calcutta, the Industrial Centres of Howrah and Hoogly and the coal mines of Raniganj shall all go into Hindustan. Thus it is foolish to include the custom duty of Calcutta on the side of the Pakistan. Of course, about 15 crores of rupees may be added into the Pakistan budget from the custom duty of the Karachi Port, as also the income tax. What about the expenses on the defence of Pakistan? Do they lose sight of the fact that Merve, the Russian Military Outpost is hardly 450 miles from Indian Railway

Terminus at Chaman ? Don't they know that Russian boundry would be just a few miles off their so called Pakistan border at Gilgit which is at present a British Military Outpost ? Have they not heard that Russia is building aerodromes in that area ? Do they not know that it takes hardly 15 minutes for the Russian Bomber-planes to reach Rawalpindi and bombard the Attock Oil Refinery ? In addition to it the Western Pakistan has got a border line of more than 1500 miles between it and Hindustan, starting from the foot of the Himalayas down to Cambay. They shall not afford to neglect it and may have to build some sort of a Maginot or Siegfried Line all along it. In short even at the lowest computation of defence expenses the entire income of the Western Pakistan shall go into the defence coffers. Almost all the present income heads in the Pakistan area are inelastic, and the tax-paying capacity of the people has already been fully exploited. Eastern Bengal is also in no better position. Baluchistan, Sind and N. W. F. P. are already not satisfactorily self-sufficient and are known as deficit provinces. And the Punjab also just saves its face. Why call it Pakistan ? Why not Fakistan, the land of hunger and starvation ?

From Military point of view, the Pakistanists proudly assure their co-religionists that all places of strategic importance shall be in their possession and control. The Khyber and the Bolan Passes shall be in the Pakistan. Calcutta, Chittagong and Karachi, three important ports shall also be in Pakistan. We are also told that Karachi is a first class air base.

This would be an added advantage to Pakistan!

These political babies have to be taught that more often than not, strategic positions have been liabilities rather than assets to a weak country, as the Pakistan is bound to be. All the small countries of Europe have suffered at the hands of big powers simply because of their being places of important strategy. Russia attacked Finland for this reason. Germany grabbed all the small countries because of it. Turkey lives in perpetual fear because of the Dardanelles. Singapore and Colombo are under British Imperialism because of their strategy. Last of all because India is a slave country therefore all the Islamic countries are slaves because they fall on the route to India and are therefore places of Military strategy. In short unless you have got the power to defend your strategic places, it is idle to talk of their advantages.

Pakistanists should not bank upon Calcutta and Eastern Punjab. It is bound to be a part of the so-called Hindu India, because it is preponderatingly Hindu. No amount of coercion can keep it in the Pakistan. The Bengal Hindu is a hard nut to crack. He gave enough proof of his mettle in partition of Bengal agitation. So is the Punjab Sikh. All methods of intimidation and persuasion failed to make him yield to the Muslims a few yards of land in Lahore. The Shahid Gunj affair should be a stern lesson to all those who think of including the Eastern Punjab in the Pakistan.

Of course Chittagong and Karachi would be in Pakistan. But the eastern Pakistan shall have to keep a navy whose expenses are bound to be at least four times the custom's income of Chittagong. Karachi would also need a big and expensive navy, because of its added "advantage" of being a place of strategy.

History tells us that whenever there has been a weak Central Government in India resulting in the independence of outlying provinces, misfortune has usually taken them.

Unfortunately there is no dearth of Doulat Khan Lodhies and Mir Jafars in the Punjab and Bengal. Most of the Muslim Leaguers—these gilded gentlemen—are just the prototypes of Doulat Khan Lodhi and Mir Jafar. It should be no surprise if after the creation of Pakistan, they invite another Babar or flirt with a Japanese Clive.

The two Pakistans shall be small autonomous units, separated from each other by a distance of about 1500 miles. To think that they shall be able to help each other in times of difficulty is sheer foolhardiness.

The Muslim League demagogues try to play on the religious passions and fanatacism of the people, by telling them that the Pakistan shall be an Islamic Theocratic State, with a Khaliffa or a Qaid-i-Azam as their political head, and where Quranic Laws, Shariat, Islamic culture, Islamic theory of economics

(If there is any ?), Islamic customs, etc., would prevail ! "Islam shall rise from the position of a mere theory and shall stand as an accomplished practicality" are the words of a prominent Leaguer.

Probably it means that all intoxicants and drugs (including cigarettes) shall be banned in Pakistan ! Cinemas, photography, music and other arts shall be stamped out ! Taking of interest on loans shall be illegal ! Criminals shall get their limbs cut off ! People who assault the chastity of women shall be stoned to death or shall be given 100 lashes in the Public !

Strange as it may seem, of all persons in the Islamic world, it has fallen to the lot of Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah to establish such a state ! And who is Mr. Jinnah ? From top to toe an English aristocrat ! A perfervid smoker of English cigerettes. He has got the reputation of being the best dressed man in Indian politics. Usually he wears the European dress. It is said that once he had to wander for hours through the streets of Paris, to get a neck-tie to match his suit ! (A tie is a reformed emblem of Christianity !) Mr. Jinnah loves all fine arts particularly music. Very recently, a rather unusual story appeared in the Punjab Vernacular Press and attracted good deal of notice in the frivolity columns of the Press. Mr. Jinnah's residence is the store house of all semblances of un-Islamic European culture. The Language of the Quran, namely Arabic,* is double

*Mr. Jinnah and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru were once appearing in a case at Hydrabad against each other. There was some

dutch to him. Stories have also appeared in the Vernacular Press of his cutting a sorry figure when performing congregational Namaz. He is a Khoja and most probably governed by Hindu Law. He is married to a non-muslim. A few years back his daughter also married a non-muslim. How one wishes, Mr. Jinnah should practise at home what he preaches outside? Charity begins at home. Physician heal thy home! Mr. Jinnah thinks to achieve what Turkey, Afghanistan, Egypt and Persia failed to achieve. Turkey the greatest Islamic country in the world took her legal system from Switzerland, Germany and Italy. The other Islamic countries have also borrowed their laws from the west. But Mr. Jinnah is a man with a difference. He must look for the impossible.

As about the talk of protecting Islamic culture, Mr. Jinnah absolutely forgets that the Chief Centres of Islamic culture are in Delhi and United Provinces. The Aligarh Muslim University, the Jamia Milia, the Centres of the Ulemas at Deo Band and Saharanpur, the Chief Muslim publishing houses, etc., the big mosques at Ajmer, Agra, Lucknow, and other places and the famous Imam Baras etc., are in the so-called Hindu India.

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dispute about the correct translation of some Arabic writing. The judges asked Mr. Jinnah to read the Arabic text. He avoided it three or four times ultimately expressing his ignorance of the language. The judges thereupon called Sir Tej to read and interpret the text, which Sir Tej did excellently and fluently. The next day newspapers came out with bold head lines "Pandit" Mohammad Ali Jinnah and "Maulvi" Sir Tej Bahadur!

The last argument in the quiver of the League is that if the Muslims are not treated well in the rest of India, the 'Lion' of Bengal, the 'Elephant' (or the 'Camel') of Sind and what (?) of the Punjab shall overrun the whole of Hindu India and take punitive measures !

The idea is strange and ridiculous and does not command the attention of any sane man. However, if Mr. Jinnah just studies the abundant resources at the disposal of non-Pakistan India and the hand-to-mouth resources of his Pakistan he shall have an idea of the relative strengths of the two and he would be frightened out of his wits and would begin to tremble like an aspen leaf. The latest fulmination of Mr. Jinnah about his pet was that the Muslims are a nation and they can't live in the air, therefore they must have a territory. Either the Muslims were not a nation before 1940 and Mr. Jinnah suddenly transformed them into one or they were living in the air. Which position does Mr. Jinnah take up ? According to his own logic does he not admit the Sikhs as a nation and the Christians too ? Would he like to espouse the claims for a Sikhistan and a Christistan ? In this connection we may remind Mr. Jinnah that not long ago he put forward the claim to be the champion of all minorities in India.

Much more can be said about Pakistan but we have only tried to deal with the arguments of the Muslim League about it. The scheme is its own condemnation.

Let it not be understood that the entire muslim community of India is with Mr. Jinnah in the demand for a Pakistan. Soon after the Lahore Session of the League, prominent Muslims all over the country met at Delhi under the Azad Muslim Conference and categorically challenged Mr. Jinnah's claim to speak for the Muslim community. The president of the All-India Ahrar Party challenged Mr. Jinnah to have a public discussion with him on Pakistan at Delhi or Lucknow, and decide the matter by the votes of the Muslims attending the meeting. The challenge was repeated, but the Muslim League lion did not come out of his Malabar Den! Majority of Sind Muslims are opposed to Pakistan. Frontier would not touch it with a pair of tongs. Bengal and the Punjab are doubtful. Then who wants the Pakistan? Let Mr. Jinnah try to secure the approval of Muslim elected Legislators in the Pakistan Provinces for his scheme. He is bound to fail. The Pakistan demand is not seriously meant. It is a political stunt. Up to this time Mr. Jinnah is himself not sure, as to which kind of Pakistan he wants. Is it not the height of dishonesty to preach a doctrine about which one is not sure himself? Sir Sikandar, the author of the Lahore resolution, recently said in the Punjab Assembly that the Muslim Leaguers are not yet sure of what type of Pakistan they should demand! What a big fraud is being played on the innocent illiterate muslim masses! May we again ask "What are you fighting for Qaid-i-Azam?".

CHAPTER XVI

Bull in a China Shop

MR. Jinnah had been manoeuvring hard to build up his position in Indian politics. He knew that some people could be fooled for all times, and was not slow to get at them. Having done so, the part that he played in Indian Politics, was similar to the part played by a bull in a china shop.

He tried hard to damage, and if possible wreck the Congress Ministries by concocting damnable falsehoods against them. He was repeatedly challenged to prove his allegations, but the furious bull only broke more china-ware. He came forward with his "Deliverance Day." He got a good snub from the responsible section of Muslims but his senses were too much blunted. to feel it. Sir Sikandar and Mr. Fazalul Huq were very sorry over the resignations of the Congress Governments, but Mr. Jinnah giggled with a childish glee. He thought that Congress prestige had come to an end by their being out of office. He did not perhaps know that the Congress prestige is built upon the huge sacrifices and sufferings of Congressmen and not on their assumption of offices. The Congress ministers voluntarily resigned offices to answer a nobler call and cheerfully walked into prisons. This act had rather enhanced the

prestige of the Congress. When his attempts to damage the Congress by propagating falsehoods and cock and bull stories failed, this spoilt child of the reactionaries came forward with his Pakistan, the mischievous scheme of breaking up India into small states. His rage and fury did not subside there, though he had come to the end of his political resources. Therefore to bolster up a weak case he resorted to abuse, and tried to insult the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. President Azad is a scholar theologian of international repute. He is a deeply religious man. His commentary on the holy Quran is acclaimed as the best so far produced in the world. Maulana Azad is held in highest esteem in the entire Muslim world of the two hemispheres. Statesman and religious heads in Turkey, Egypt, Palestine and Iraq seek light from him on all important affairs. His influence in the Congress is second to none. He wields a strong rod in the Congress, and has strongly used it against big Congress leaders like Bose brothers, S. Sampuran Singh, leader of opposition in the Punjab Assembly, and many Congress Ministers and Congress members of the Assembly. It is an open secret that in the matters of Congress discipline he is rather harsh and autocratic, and even leaders like Mahatma Gandhi dare not interfere with him. Maulana Azad has built up his position by his great learning, huge sacrifices, sufferings and imprisonments. Mr. Jinnah on the other hand is just the opposite of M. Azad

in all respects. He is a man who cannot sacrifice even a cup of tea for his community. He has never made any sacrifice or suffered any hardship for the Muslims. He has built up his position by mere talk and clatter. Maulana Azad is a man of honest convictions and knows how to suffer for them uninfluenced by any body. In 1914 he was the only non-co-operator.

M. Azad made a private telegraphic inquiry from Mr. Jinnah, whether the Muslim League could agree to a provincial arrangement not based on their two-nation theory. The inquiry was innocent, polite and quite in order, dealing with a public matter. It was from the head of one great political organization to the head of another political organization. He refused to answer the simple inquiry wiring back that Maulana Azad was a "show boy" of the Congress and had lost the confidence of the Muslims, therefore Mr. Jinnah did not like to discuss any thing with him. To add to it, Mr. Jinnah very hastily published the telegrams without even seeking the permission of M. Azad, thus committing the most ungentlemanly, heinous and unpardonable offence, namely, betrayal of confidence. The reply itself was most rude and unmannerly and even indecent. There was some thing else behind this melancholy meanness. For some time the two Muslim Premiers, Sir Sikandar and Mr. Fazlul Haq, had been approaching the venerable Maulana and discussing political problems with him. Their interviews with

the Maulana evinced a good deal of interest in the country. It was felt that some sort of an agreement might be arrived at. Mr. Jinnah, on the other hand felt his own leadership and importance under rated. He had long assumed the airs of a dictator of the entire Muslim Community in India, despite the fact that he had been disowned on several occasions by all and some. At once he came forward to proclaim that any agreement arrived at, over his head, will not be acceptable to the League. Not only that, he even prohibited the two premiers to make further approaches to Maulana Azad. But they refused to obey his fiats and continued meeting Maulana Azad and other Congress leaders. Mr. Jinnah was helpless against them and found consolation in hurling abuses at Maulana Azad. The effusion of Mr. Jinnah against the Congress President evoked universal and spontaneous condemnation throughout the length and breadth of India. Never in the recent history of India, was a political leader so universally and ruthlessly condemned, as Mr. Jinnah on this occasion.

Even the *Tribune*, whose sobriety and dispassionateness has built for it a reputation in the British parliament, was so much upset by this indecency on the part of Mr. Jinnah that it wrote "To the responsible section of the press and to correspondents and news agencies who supply it with news, we have a suggestion to make. The best thing they can do to bring this irresponsible and much pampered man to his senses is by treating all

his effusions henceforth with undisguised contempt.'

The last act of the Bull in the China shop was his mischief in Sind.

Ever since the creation of Sind into a new province it has been in the throes of misfortune. Its politics have since then been in the melting pot. Ministers have been coming in and going out of the cabinet as if it were a thoroughfare. Leaving aside the Congress party, Mr. Allah Bux and his close friends, the rest of the Sind politicians have been rolling stones which gather no moss. Sind is a Muslim majority province but the Muslim members of Sind Assembly are divided up in small groups all equally self-seeking and rapacious. But the Allah Bux Group, the strongest, stands certainly on a higher moral level than others. Provincial autonomy has given birth to only one All-India personality, Mr. Allah Bux. The first ministry in Sind was formed by Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayat Ullah with Congress and Allah Bux Group in opposition. The Ministry was soon defeated and Mr. Allah Bux became the Premier of Sind. He followed a programme very nearly akin to the Congress. But still the ministry was by no means stable. Mr. Jinnah perhaps thought that he could have at least one Muslim League Ministry out of four Muslim majority provinces, by bringing all Muslim members of the Sind Assembly under the banner of the Muslim League. The annual session of the Muslim

League was arranged at Karachi and Mr. Jinnah used all methods of persuasion and coercion to intimidate Mr. Allah Bux and make him join the Muslim League. Mr. Allah Bux is a man of high character and indomitable will. He refused to be brow-beaten by the fretting and frowning of the League leader. On the other hand Mr. Allah Bux left no stone unturned to approach the Congress and have a coalition with the Congress. He even offered to join the Congress and have a full fledged and most formidable Congress Ministry in Sind, but Maulana Azad who is the zonal dictator of the Congress for the Provinces of N. W. F. P. the Punjab, Bengal, Assam and Sind, refused to accept the offer, lest the interested persons might try to discredit the Congress for standing in the way of an agreement between all the Muslim parties of Sind. He always advised Mr. Allah Bux to have a united Muslim party and carry out an ameliorative programme and the Congress Party would support him. It was thus once again proved that the Congressmen are not job hunters. While the Muslim Leaguers always fall on offices like hungry wolves falling on their prey, the Congress does not care to cast an amourous look on offices. Due to lack of support from the Congress the Allahbux Ministry unfortunately tumbled down. Mir Bundeh Ali Khan an independent Muslim Member of the Sind Assembly formed the new Ministry, with the help of a few Muslim Leaguers and some Hindu independents. Things suddenly took a worse turn in Sind and the province not only faced

an economic crisis but also fell in the grips ofla wless-ness which showed the incapacity of Bundeh Ali Khan Ministry to cope with the situation. The Ministry became unpopular both inside and outside the Legislature. President Maulana Azad at once visited Sind and achieved in the small spasm of one week what Mr. Jinnah had miserably failed to achieve by all fair and foul means in three years. Maulana Azad with his unquestionable integrity of purpose and charm of personality succeeded in uniting the Mussal-mans in Sind. Mr. Bundeh Ali Khan's life as a Premier was just then a matter of few more breaths. Maulana Azad gave him another lease of life by getting for him the support of all the Muslims, Hindus and Congressmen. There was of course a reshuffling of the cabinet and in the new Ministry, Maulana Azad quite generously admitted three muslims Leaguers despite the fact that out of 34 Muslim Members, the strength of Muslim League was totally insignificant, it being hardly seven. Maulana Azad ordered the Congress Party, (it shall be borne in mind that though the Congress was the single largest party supporting the coalition yet it did not like to have any ministership). Thus for the first time in Sind, Maulana Azad was able to bring about a Ministry which practically had the support of the entire house. According to the terms of the agreement, popularly called the Azad Pact, Mir Bundeh Ali Khan was to resign premiership on or before the 15th of February. Sir Ghulam Hussain

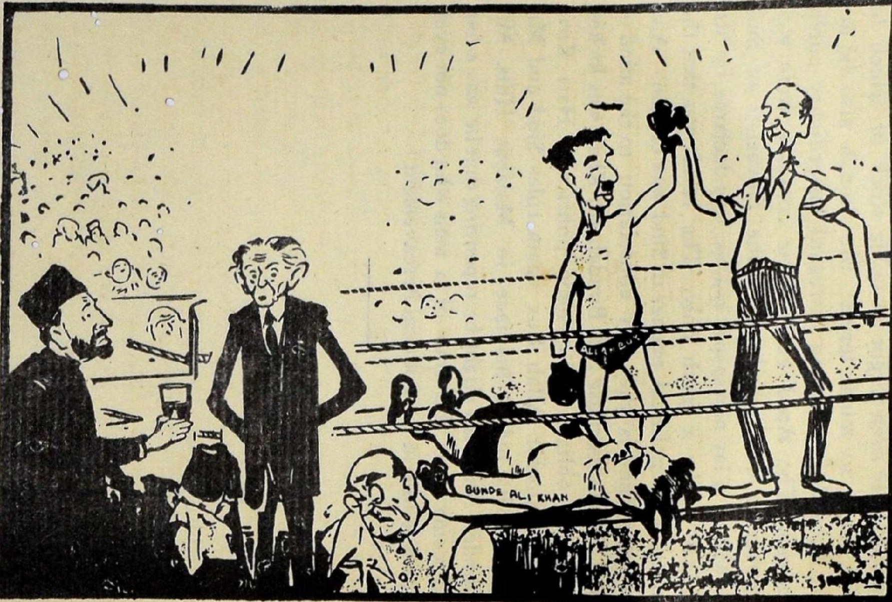
Hidayat Ullah was to become Minister in the place rendered vacant by the resignation of Mir Bundeh Ali Khan. If for any reason Mir Bundeh Ali chose to continue to be a junior member of the Council of Ministers, either Mr. G. M. Syed or Khan Bahadur Khuro (the two Muslim Leaguers) were to resign and make room for Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayat Ullah. After the resignation of Mir Bundeh Ali Khan, Mr. Allah Bux or Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayat Ullah was to be the Premier. The Governor of Sind was fully apprised of this Pact by Mir Bundeh Ali Khan. The document contained the signature of Mr. G. M. Syed, Khan Bahadur Khuro and Mr. Nichaldas. Mir Bundeh Ali Khan did not sign the document but assured Maulana Azad that he would stand by it and *his* "*word of honour* as a gentleman coming from a noble stock" was sufficient. The Ministry began to function. For some time it was felt that the troubles of Sind had come to an end. Maulana Azad also formed an Advisory Committee to supervise the work of the Ministry. Then appeared Mr. Jinnah on the scene. He perhaps took it as an insult that the Muslims of Sind should unite at the call of a person who according to Mr. Jinnah had lost the confidence of Muslims, and was a show boy of the Congress and should show so much respect to him. He perhaps also looked back with dismay upon his own past failure in the same direction. Mr. Jinnah wanted to snatch away the laurels from Maulana Azad. He was afraid that Sind was becoming a

nationalist and not a Muslim League province. He felt the province going out of his hands. According to Maulana Azad's arrangement a unity board was to function in Sind and Maulana's Committee of Sixteen was to conduct and supervise the Legislative activities of the province. Mr. Jinnah began to lay down his plans soon after his arrival in Sind. His first victim was Mr. G. M. Syed who resigned the secretaryship of Committee of Sixteen on the pretext of suddenly having developed bad health. Then he turned to Khan Bahadur Allah Bux. He spoke to many persons including some Hindu friends, "To get him Allah Bux." He thought that with Mr. Allah Bux in the League, he could do whatever he liked in Sind. He forgave Mr. Allah Bux for his past hostilities. He forgave him for the crushing blows and defeats that Mr. Allah Bux had been continuously inflicting upon him. But Mr. Allah Bux maintained his reputation of a far-sighted statesman and nationalist and refused to sell himself to the biddings of Mr. Jinnah. Punched by the refusal of Mr. Allah Bux, Mr. Jinnah turned to Mir Bundeh Ali Khan and induced him to join the Muslim League which the Mir did. It should not be without interest to know the political principles of this gentleman. In one word his political principles were that he wanted a Ministership at all costs and followed those who offered him the same. He was at first a Minister under Sir Ghulam Hussain. When that Ministry was defeated he came out in the opposition and joined the Muslim League Party. Again he

joined Mr. Allah Bux's Cabinet as a Junior Minister flouting the injunctions and policy of the Muslim League. When later on the Allah Bux Ministry was defeated, he went and told the Governor that he would stand by Mr. Allah Bux, though an hour earlier he had accepted the leadership of a new party. Verily he betrayed Mr. Allah Bux and was sworn in as Premier. Soon after he proclaimed that he was a no party man and had nothing to do with the Muslim League. Again when his Ministry was about to tumble down, he approached Maulana Azad to allow him to remain the Premier for some time more and made his solemn promise on the premium of his noble descent that he would resign voluntarily before or on a stipulated day. It was insinuated in certain quarters that the question of his jagir had not been settled and he therefore wished to continue. The stipulated day drew nearer but he had no intention to resign. As a matter of fact he had taken breathing time from Maulana Azad in the hope, like Micawber, that some thing would turn up to his advantage. And the visit of Mr. Jinnah was such an opportunity. He joined the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah's mischief was completed. The Azad Pact stood torpedoed. His mission to Sind was fruitful. But still the Congress and the Allah Bux Group adhered to the Pact and waited till the approach of the 15th of February. When the date arrived, Mir Bundeh Ali Khan threw all canons of public morality and gentlemanliness to winds and refused to resign the Premiership at the behests of Mr.

Jinnah. He even forgot his noble stock of which he had made so much fetish. Mr. Jinnah also did not lag behind in showing disregard for ordinary public morals. The Azad Pact whose contents were well known to every body from the Governor of Sind down to a lay newspaper reader, was declared by Mr. Jinnah to be a myth only. The result was that the unity of the political parties in Sind was broken. And perhaps that is the only consolation to the mind of Mr. Jinnah, because Mir Bundeh Ali Khan was kicked out and obliged to commit political, 'Hari Kiri.' Khan Bahadur Allah Bux again rules Sind and Mr. Jinnah sits hiding his face in Malabar Hills. Mir Bundeh Ali Khan might be repenting that he was a fool to come into the trap of a man who does not even console him in his political bereavement!

KNOCK-OUT IN SIND.



Courtesy *The Hindustan Times.*

CHAPTER XVII

A Pitiable Dictator

MR. Jinnah is a very ambitious man. In the early days of his public career he wanted to become a Muslim Gokhale. It seems that he changed his ideal. He wanted to become a dictator of India if possible, failing that, of his community ; still failing that, of the Muslim League ; failing this even, he would perhaps like to become the dictator of his own self ! And he revived the Muslim League in 1936. The Ulemas left the League because they refused to play second fiddle to this man whose knowledge of the essentials of Islam was perhaps even less than bare. Having got a few 'yes' men he assumed dictatorial airs. In their opposition to the Congress the Punjab and Bengal Premiers also joined the Muslim League. The Premier of Bengal perhaps could not live without the support of the League therefore he had to join it, while the Punjab Premier perhaps made a bid for coming into all-India Politics. Mr. Jinnah was puffed up by these additions to his ranks and made the most preposterous claim of being the sole representative of the Muslim community and insisted on getting a certificate to this effect from the Congress. When the Congress refused to admit him as such he returned to the Government, and there also he tried to use the

same methods as he had used with the Congress. For diplomatic exigencies and for having a " Counter-poise to Congress aims " the grandsons of Lord Minto found it advisable and profitable to recognise the importance of this gentleman and his cosset, the Muslim League. John Bull has tried to use the idiosyncracies of this gentleman for upholding his hold on India. It is an interesting spectacle to find on the one hand, Mr. Jinnah complacently chuckling "Now the Viceroy invites me also along with Gandhi " and on the other hand the attitude of the British Secretary of State for India which is " No Swaraj until you satisfy the impossible Mr. Jinnah."

It is indeed interesting to know how Mr. Jinnah works himself up in his manœuvres.

With the out-break of War between Germany and England, the British Raj declared India a belligerent country without consulting the Indian public. The other parts of the British Empire had joined the War on the side of Great Britain after fully consulting the representatives of their countries. The Congress naturally questioned why this differential treatment with India? It further asked what were the War aims of Great Britain? Was England fighting for the protection and survival of British Imperialism? If England was fighting for democracy and freedom the Congress was wholeheartedly with her. If on the other hand, England was fighting for the defence of its Imperialism, Congress had nothing to do with it as

it had always stood for the downfall of Imperialism it may be of the Nazi, Fascist or British brand. There was no reasonable response to the Congress query. The Congress was driven to the position where it now stands.

As a natural corollary to the Congress attitude, Congress Governments in the eight Provinces of India refused to function as a part of the War prosecuting machinery of the British Raj. The difference between the Congress and the Government was one of principle and there was no bargaining in it. Sir Sikandar the pet child of the British reactionaries and a prominent Muslim Leaguer had the shamefacedness to say that Gandhi had stabbed the British Government in the back and the Congress taking advantage of the perilous position of Great Britain wanted to make capital out of it. What was the position of Mr. Jinnah? At Bombay in so many words the Muslim League decided not to join the War Committees unless and until the demands of the Muslim League were satisfactorily fulfilled by the British Government. If Sir Sikandar does not deliberately misconstrue things it was the Muslim League who tried to strike an ugly bargain and not the Congress. And yet the proud soldier, though he defied this order of the League, did not have the courage to say even a single word of disapproval against Mr. Jinnah while he used the sacred precincts of a mosque to issue his vulgar tirade against Mahatma Gandhi. But it is no use lamenting over it because such is the general morality

of all Muslim Leaguers. Let us now come to Mr Jinnah. When the resolution was passed, the Muslim League Premiers of Bengal and the Punjab showed so much 'respect' to it that one of them hurriedly left Bombay to preside at the Punjab War Board while the other non-challantly associated himself with all the war activities of the Government. Some body gave it out that the resolution did not apply to the Muslim League Ministers in the two provinces. Mr. Jinnah quickly came out with a statement that no Muslim Leaguer whatsoever his position was immune from the scope of the resolution. Openly and most defiantly, the Muslim League Ministers all over associated themselves with the War. There could not be a more gratuitous insult to the prestige of Mr. Jinnah and his League. It was felt for some time that either the Muslim League Premiers and Ministers would be out of the League or they would make amends to expiate their conduct. Nothing happened. Mr. Jinnah silently pocketed the insult. Later when some people pressed for taking disciplinary action, the Muslim League decided to expel Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan, Nawab Muzaffar Khan and Sir Mohd Niwaz Khan, three unimportant small fries from the Punjab, and Begum Hamida Sahiba, Mr. Qadir Bux and Mr. M. Rehman, three unknown figures from Bengal. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the most prominent man connected with the War effort and other Muslim League Ministers went scot free before the eyes of the whole world! Mr. Jinnah even dare not

frown at them. He was made the laughing stock of the entire world. But after all he is a Khoja Bania ; his business trait perhaps asserted itself and he tried to profit by the ignonimous insult that he had pocketed at the hands of Sir Sikandar and others. On bended knees he approached the British Raj and said that he and his League had done nothing to harrass the British Government and wherever the Muslim League was in power it had actively helped the British Government's War efforts. Therefore the British Raj should take pity over poor Mr. Jinnah and should take him into confidence and should trust him. What a nice piece of political chicanery ! Mr. Jinnah had tried to play a clever game. By his War Committees boycott threat he thought that the Premiers of the Punjab and Bengal would collaborate with him and he would try to paralyse and force the hands of the Government to recognize his claims. If this threat had materialised Mr. Jinnah would have got an ascendency in importance in the offices of the British Raj over Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan and the Bengal Premier. But the latter two were equally shrewd. They upset his calculations. They did not want any body else to snatch away the laurels from them and they also knew that Mr. Jinnah had no sanctions to apply against them. When Mr. Jinnah found himself out-manoeuvred he tried to make best of the bad bargain as explained above. We are sorry for Mr. Jinnah. Inspite of the fondness and tender solicitude of the Government for Mr. Jinnah and

all the people of his type, it neither took him into confidence nor showed the much-sought-after trust in him.

Another instance of a similar attempt. The Khaksars lately had been much in the press. They tried to create an orgy in the Congress Province of United Provinces and the local executive authorities were forced to open fire on them resulting in the death of five Khaksars and injuries to an equal number. Since the act was done under the Congress Government and Mr. Jinnah unscrupulously snatches at any rod to beat the congress with, he made a hue and cry of Muslim blood being spilt by a Hindu Raj. The affair was over and it is a truism that Khaksars had been very softly treated by the Congress Government. Encouraged by it they tried to create an orgy at Lahore as well. Sir Sikandar being a harder man was not as kind to them as they had expected him to be. In the Municipal Limits of Lahore under the Muslim League Government blood of hundreds of Muslim Khaksars was spilt and all this on the eve of Mr. Jinnah's visit to the city! It is no exaggeration to say that he treaded on the roads which were red with the Khaksar blood. Mr. Jinnah did not have the courage to say a word against Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan. Should one say that he had left his sense of fair play, justice and honesty at Bombay when he left for Lahore? But here again he tried to make capital out of the incident. He asked the Khaksars to give him the authority

to settle their dispute with the Government. The snare was very cleverly laid. The Khaksars were a militant and powerful organisation, sufficient to paralyse any Government for the time being. With that organization at the back of Mr. Jinnah, could not he use it to coerce his friends and opponents alike, for we have learnt that to Mr. Jinnah every thing is fair in war; may be in love too. But the Khaksars knew how practical Mr. Jinnah was and they spurned the offer. Perhaps the demands of the Khaksars were that the families of the killed Khaksars were to be provided for because invariably it was a young bread winner who had died in the Khaksar tragedy. It was a question of supporting the large number of Muslim families who have been left in a miserable position. Simply because the Khaksar leaders refused to delegate away their powers to this power-lusty gentleman, he silently closed his eyes and did nothing—absolutely nothing—for the pining families drenched in tragic misery.

The stars seem to be against Mr. Jinnah. Though the British Government for her own Imperialist ends is prepared to give a veto to Mr. Jinnah over the rest of India so long as Mr. Jinnah has got a dissenting tune to harp upon, the position of Mr. Jinnah in his own community is most uncomfortable. The elements outside the League and they do certainly represent a vast majority of Indian Muslims, have got no soft corner for Mr. Jinnah. The Khaksars don't care even a hoot for him. In the Muslim

League itself, whose Qaid-i-Azam or Dictator he is supposed to be, his authority and influence have been defied times out of number. Only recently he got a 'damn-good' certificate from Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan who on Basant Day declared that the makers of Pakistan and such other schemes are 'selfish and dishonest people.' (There could not be a bigger truism but unfortunately we learn on authority that Sir Sikandar himself is the framer of the Lahore resolution popularly called a Pakistan resolution. The mover of the resolution, Mr. Fazlul Huq still talks of a united motherland. Strange are the ways of the Muslim Leaguers.

Mr. Jinnah lives on Hindu Muslim dissensions. Therefore he hates any attempt that may be made to solve the political dead lock of India. Not long ago Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Bengal Muslim League Champion, publicly expressed a wish that a fresh attempt should be made to solve the so called Hindu Muslim problem, and this time the Muslim League should break the ice. He wrote a letter to Mr. Jinnah requesting him to call a meeting of the Muslim League to solve the communal problem. Wrote Mr. Huq, "Some day or other, these communal differences will be made up, but I do not see any reason why the League should not take the wind out of the sails of other organizations and secure to itself the credit of having done the greatest possible service to India and her people. Let us discuss and the blame won't be ours." Replying Mr. Jinnah referred to Mr. Huq's

public statement wherefrom, according to Mr. Jinnah, it followed that Mr. Huq was forcing the League to take the initiative, because in his Calcutta statement, Mr. Huq definitely appealed to the League Council Members to support him, and said that they should call upon Mr. Jinnah to summon an emergent meeting of the League. Wrote Mr. Jinnah, "This, whatever may have been your intentions, clearly conveys that I am unwilling to come to a settlement about this unfortunate dead lock for which the Congress alone is responsible. Apart from the wisdom of having issued these statements and having appealed to the Members of the Council in the press, I think your move will convey the impresssion in political quarters in India and England that the Muslims are divided as it has already been so interpretted in many quarters." After having received this rebuke from Mr. Jinnah Mr. Huq tried to puff up and pamper the Qaid-i-Azam. Expressing that he felt strongly to make another peace effort, he wrote, "I never meant that I should take the lead or that I should dictate but I am really asking you to take the lead and as the head of the premier Muslim political organization of India, *call upon every body else to meet you in* order that they may be able to *put their cases before you and* you may be in a position to discuss problems with them and come to a decision. *It was to put you in the position of a dictator of India.*" This letter is not to be taken as an excellent piece of sycophancy only. Since it is an attempt by the Bengal Premier to please and soften Mr. Jinnah, it, more or

less, throws a flood of light on the character and ambition of Mr. Jinnah as understood by one of his closest lieutenants. The words "It was to put you in the position of dictator of India" so that Mr. Jinnah could order every body to "put their cases" before him is a true picture of Mr. Jinnah's innerself. His egoism, his self importance and his childish sense of prestige and vanity have manifested themselved on many an occasion. Mahatma Gandhi who is by far the most prominent man of India wrote to him requesting him that Mr. Jinnah should come down to Shegaon as Mahatma Gandhi was not keeping good health and gave him about a fortnight out of which he could choose any day he liked. On the pretext of engagement Mr. Jinnah replied that he could not go to Shegaon. Mahatma Gandhi wrote back "If you cannot come to Shegaon, and my health permits, I will gladly go to Bombay to meet you when you are there." Replied Mr. Jinnah that he would be glad to see Mahatma Gandhi at Bombay. Then followed telegrams between the two that speak for themselves. April 9, 1938. From Mr. Gandhi to Mr. Jinnah, "I am likely to be in Delhi about 12th. If at all possible I should like meet you there instead Bombay in order save time energy. If agreeable Maulana will accompany me." Delhi, April 15, 1938. Another telegram from Gandhiji to Mr. Jinnah, "If on return Bombay you can break journey Wardha for one day, you will spare me strain undertaking journey Bombay. I need some uninterrupted physical rest if possible. Any

event could Maulana Azad accompany me interview. Please wire Wardha which reaching to-morrow." April 16, 1938. From Mr. Jinnah to Gandhiji. "Extremely sorry unable change programme now. Will receive you Bombay 25th or thereafter as arranged. Would prefer see you alone." April 18, 1938. Telegram from Gandhi to Mr. Jinnah. "Thanks, 25th happens Monday. Will reach Bombay 28th if not inconvenient."

April 19, from Mr. Jinnah to Gandhi. "Thanks. Will gladly receive you 28th my house. Wire time care Ispahani, Calcutta."

On April 20, Gandhiji wired to Mr. Jinnah from Wardha. "If not incovenient would like reach your house eleven thirty a. m."

Greatness does not lie in stiffness ; rather it lies in humility. Even in the Jawaharlal-Jinnah correspondence quoted previously Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru invited Mr. Jinnah to his place at Allahabad and wrote that if it was inconvenient to Mr. Jinnah to come to Allahabad, he could go to Lucknow in case it suited Mr. Jinnah better. Mr. Jinnah wrote back, "I am afraid that is not possible for me owing to my other engagements, but I shall be in Bombay about the end of April" and Mr. Jawaharlal could go and meet him there. Again, usually the Congress presidents Pt. Nehru, Mr. Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Subhash Chander Bose have been going to meet Mr. Jinnah at his residence. And not once has Mr. Jinnah shown them the courtesy of paying a visit. It

must be borne in mind that with Congress Raj in eight provinces out of eleven the position of the Congress President is more or less parallel to that of the American President, while Mr. Jinnah's position is hardly better than that of a party leader. Recently, when talks were going on between Lord Linlithgow on the one side and leaders of political parties in India on the other, an interesting incident took place. Mahatma Gandhi in his motor car went upto the residence of Mr. Jinnah in order to pick him up for the Viceroy's interview. Inspite of the insistence of Mahatma Gandhi Mr. Jinnah refused to get into the Mahatma's car. He preferred going in his own car. Probably Mr. Jinnah did not want to be 'obliged' bv Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi who had no such sense of idyllic vanity in him at once said, "All right, if you refuse to enter in my car, I shall go with you in yours." And we sympathise with Mr. Jinnah for having been compelled to sit with an uncivilized, rugged, half-naked and shabby faqir in his own car upto the viceregal lodge. Unfortunately Mahatma Gandhi fell ill in Delhi and could not go to Mr. Jinnah's house to meet him about Hindu-Muslim parleys and Pandit Jawaharlal met Mr. Jinnah in place of Mahatma Gandhi. It was only then that Mr. Jinnah paid a two minutes courtesy visit to inquire about his (Gandhiji's) health. That is the only visit that Mr. Jinnah ever paid to him.

Not long ago a Meeting of the Congress Working

Committee was being held in Wardha to discuss the most momentous question of the present War visa vis the position of India. The Congress President wrote to Mr. Jinnah requesting him to attend the meeting of the Working Committee and give them the benefit of his advice. Mr. Jinnah wrote back that he could not do so but if they chose they could come to meet him at his place!

Why this attitude on the part of Mr. Jinnah? Isn't it decent on his part to throw off this false sense of prestige and vanity because it does no credit to him? People who occupy a thousand times better position than Mr. Jinnah does, have been much more considerate to Gandhiji and other Congress leaders. It does seem true that Mr. Jinnah has always been trying to be, what Mr. Fazlul Huq wanted to make him.

But in his quarters, when he behaves like that, say with the Punjab and Bengal Premiers, it is usually a case of the tail trying to wag the dog. The two premiers have definitely more importance and following in their respective spheres than Mr. Jinnah. And that is why, they defy him with impunity.

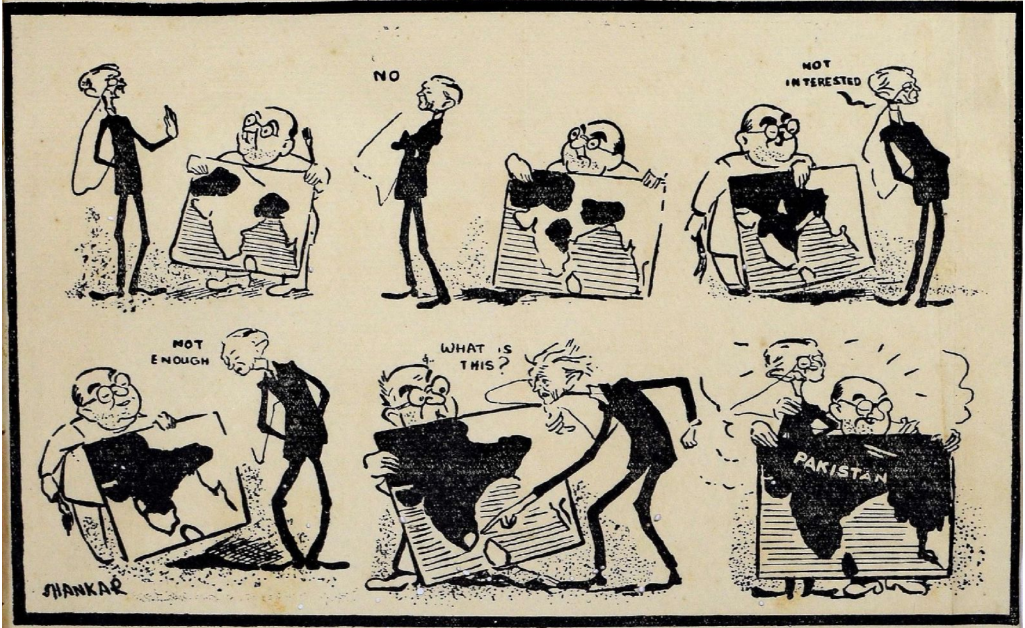
But still Mr. Jinnah is a dictator, though only a pitiable dictator and that is the tragedy of him.

CHAPTER XVIII

Separation Since When ?

DELIVERING a speech in the Central Assembly, Mr. Jinnah very recently said, that Hindus and Muslims could never unite because the Muslim mind had been thinking in terms of separation for the last thirty years. Without meaning any insult to Mr. Jinnah we are constrained to say that it was a shameful un-truth, which of all persons Mr. Jinnah should not have been guilty of speaking. May we remind Mr. Jinnah that in 1916 he had said, "The reproach of separatism some times levelled at the Mussalmans is singularly inapt and wide of the mark"? In 1917 Mr. Jinnah thought that there was no difference between the Muslim League and the Congress and his speeches had won him the title of "the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity." From 1916 to 1921 Muslim League was for all practical purposes a department of the Congress. From 1921 upto 1930 there is not a single resolution of the Muslim League regarding separation. Near about 1930 many Muslim organizations came into being but not one of them passed a single resolution about separation. In 1932 the Muslim League passed a resolution favouring joint electorates and repudiating separate electorates as they had injured the Muslims.

The utopian Pakistan idea was put forward about that time by the utopian poet Dr. Iqbal. The Muslim League and the Conference repudiated the idea at the Round Table Conference. Right upto 1937 Mr. Jinnah and the League were thinking in terms of Nationalism, common motherland and united India. It is just a matter of almost a few months that Mr. Jinnah has begun to think in terms of two nations and division of India. Mr. Jinnah would have been cent. per cent. truthful if he had said that for the last thirty years some Muslim title holders and suborned people had been thinking in terms of separatism. But then again it would be grossly wrong to say that these people ever had any following beyond their family circles. Of course in the Minto quarters there was a good deal of sympathy, and tender solicitude for them. Even today while not a single Muslim Leaguer is clear in his mind about Pakistan and decidedly a vast multitude is against it, the attitude of John Bull towards it is not without its mischievous propensities. And that is the tragedy of Muslim League and John Bull.



Courtesy *The Hindustan Times.*

EPILOGUE

Political Ribaldry

(1941)

THE new year, it seems, did not bring good luck to Mr. Jinnah. His followers definitely dwindled down. His attempts to inject the League with new vigour and energy failed miserably. His deputation to the land of the brave Pathans, to do propaganda work was an ignonimous failure. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the great torch bearer of the true spirit of Islam, is trenched in such fortified positions, that hundred tours of hundred Jinnahs cannot dislodge him from his place of power and influence in the North Western Frontier Province. Except at one or two strong holds of reactionaries and title-holders, the Muslim League Deputation moved about unattended, uncared, and practically unlistened. The whole tour was a perfectly cold affair. Mr. Jinnah perhaps smelled it, before hand. Probably that may be the reason why he did not go to the Frontier Province himself. Had he gone there the cat would have been out of the bag. The entire world would have known how much influence he and the Muslim League commanded in the Province where there are 92 Muslims out of every 100 people. His pretensions to represent the entire Muslim opinion, his Pakistan

pet, his two nation theory, and his other bogies would have vanished leaving not a rack behind. But the Bombay lawyer is quite clever; only the stars are against him.

He came to Lahore to preside at the Pakistan Conference convened by some exuberant, misguided, and inspired youths. What a big contrast it was with his earlier visit at the annual League Session. Sir Sikandar and other erstwhile followers and lieutenants did not care to see him; very few prominent Muslims attended the Conference. This was sufficient to upset the mind of the Dictator. In the words of the Tribune he left the city of Lahore crest-fallen.

The League held its annual session at Madras recently. The session endorsed the Pakistan resolution of Lahore, and effected changes in the League constitution declaring Pakistan to be the ultimate goal of the League. Look at the representation of the Pakistan provinces at the conference. Only *two* Muslims unknown un-important individuals *constituted* the " contingent of delegates " from the great Muslim League province of the Punjab! Sir Sikandar was busy buying khadi from the Congress workers at Lahore while the League was holding its session at Madras! Barring Sardar Aurangzeb Khan, how many prominent Muslims represented N. W. F. P.? What was the representation from Bengal and Baluchistan? From Sind, Sir Abdulla Haroon attended more to abuse Sir Lancelot Graham behind the back, than to do anything else.

In short the Madras session of the League was a dull, short and tame affair. The Muslim Majority Provinces by their collosal indifference made it duller still. But still Mr. Jinnah and John Bull would have the world believe that the Muslim League represents the nine crores of Indian Muslims! Exasperated by his fast disappearing dictatorial halo, the League leader looks for fresh resources. He runs about instigating the 'Harijans' to disown Hindu religion and come under his protection. He assures them all help. But here again he rides for a fall. The Harijans can distinguish between a friend and a foe, between lip sympathy of people like Mr. Jinnah and the social service of people like Mahatma Gandhi who would start even a fast unto death for them. A woman who pretends to love a child more than his mother is a witch. The inquistive Harijan knows the past record of services of Mr. Jinnah to his own community. He knows it perfectly well that not on a single occasion has Mr. Jinnah risen equal to the task and done a service to or suffered for Muslims. The Khillafat Question, the Mahajareen Movement, the Shahid Ganj, the Shia-Sunni Trouble, the Khaksar Tragedy and other incidents are enough to test the Islamic love of Mr. Jinnah. One who has behaved thus to his own community has nothing to give to Harijans. At Madras he instigated the non-brahman Hindus to alienate themselves from Hindus and create a "Dravidistan." His help (including the storm troopers of this pseudo-Nazi?) was at their disposal!

This is a good and a new pastime. He is out for creating 'Stans'—Pakistan for Muslims," Dravidistan" for non-Brahman Hindus of Madras, and a separate home land for the Harijans. But one fails to understand that when Mr. Jinnah is himself busy vivisecting India on the above basis, why does he feel pin pricks all over the body when the *Sikhs* also clamour for a Sikhistan? What other 'stans' come into being is a question of the future, but Mr. Jinnah has quite successfully created one 'stan' namely "Talkistan", of which he is the Dictator—*De Luxe*! At Madras, by a special resolution the Dictator *De Luxe* has been given power to do whatever he deems fit for the future and he has come out with his two 5 year plans for the Talkistan. It seems the Dictator intends imitating the Western Dictators to the letter. Here is work for charlie chaplin! Let him come out with "Another Great Dictator"! Now a little bit about the Madras Session. To put in a nut shell the Muslim League Session was just a show of political ribaldry of a unique type.

The ultimate goal of the Muslim League has always been in the melting pot, so have been its principles. Only one thing has remained static. In 1906 at the birth of this organization, "loyalty to the British crown" was its chief aim. In 1941 Mr. Jinnah's heart is full of love and loyalty for his old masters. He is prepared to do anything in his power for them. He is prepared even to postpone his Pakistan because he does not want to embarrass the

Page 273 line 3.

Instead of 1927 read 1937.

British Government [speech at Madras Session]. Could there be a bigger proof of loyalty? What wonder if the British Raj reciprocates? In 1927 the re-oriented Muslim League stood for complete independence of India based on Democratic principles. Earlier, the Muslim League stood for reforms on democratic lines but was not willing to give up John Bull's patronage of India. In 1941 the League stands for Pakistan, because democracy and independence do not suit India! God alone knows what may be the next spark of Muslim League wisdom!

Mr. Jinnah's speech showed complete bankruptcy in statesmanship. Never has a responsible public leader made such an absurd and unrefined speech. Even some anglo-Indian papers have joined in the universal condemnation of the speech. Mr. Jinnah was hitting like a blind man. His tirade was chiefly against the Congress, though he did not spare people like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Savarkar and others, and had cheap flings at them.

With all his eloquence and force, he excited the Government to deal harshly with the Congress. But alas the Government cannot go Mr. Jinnah's way, because there is still some statesmanship left with them while Mr. Jinnah is totally devoid of it. Talking about the Pakistan and the Congress, he said "Babu Rajendra Prasad was asked only a few days ago (April 10) about the Pakistan scheme. He said the Working Committee of the Congress never discussed the Pakistan scheme as that was never

referred to it by Mr. Jinnah. Do you believe that the Working Committee of the Congress never discussed the scheme? This ghost has been haunting them since March 1940. What standard of Truth is this? Congress leaders have issued statements and written volumes about it. Babu Rajendra Prasad has actually issued a pamphlet with regard to the scheme." For the information of this very forgetful gentleman, we may point out that the Pakistan resolution couched in most vague and bare terms was passed on 23rd March 1940 at Lahore Session of the League. A Sub-Committee was appointed to draw out a concrete scheme giving a practical shape to the resolution. Either due to incompetence or due to intentional neglect (probably both) the Committee never placed the scheme before the public or the Working Committee of the Muslim League. A full year has passed, and even the next session of the League is over, but nothing is known about the labours of the Sub-Committee. How can any body discuss a scheme which is still in embryo? Even the Muslim League Working Committee has not discussed it or placed it before the public. How could the Congress Working Committee discuss it? The whole thing looks nonsense. As about this "ghost haunting the Congress since March 1940," we are reminded of the story of the fly that sat for hours on the horns of a bull and then said "Mr. Bull, I have been sitting on you for hours. You must have been tired."! The questioning of Babu Rajendra

Prasad's standard of Truth, is not only a pure vulgarity, but looks like the case of a dwarf taunting a giant for the latter's short stature!

As about Babu Rajendra Prasad's issuing a pamphlet about Pakistan, it is again a huge mis-statement of truth. The facts are that Babu Rajendra Prasad wrote an academic article on "Schemes for Dividing India" in the Annual Number of the *Hindustan Times*, Delhi. That was before the Muslim League at Lahore had passed its ill-conceived Pakistan resolution. Later on Mr. Yusaf Mehr Ali published the article in a pamphlet with the permission of the *Hindustan Times*. Pandit Jawaharlal when questioned about Pakistan refused even to discuss it, calling it fantastic and not worth considering.

Mr. Jinnah in his tirade ended with the peroration "I say to Babu Rajendra Prasad, 'Ask your Working Committee to discuss it if they have not already done so, apply your mind honestly and without prejudice if there is any political wisdom and statesmanship still left in the Congress leadership.'"

In reply we ask Mr. Jinnah, "Please, if there is any political wisdom and statesmanship still left in you, apply your mind honestly and without prejudice to the Pakistan scheme because you have not done so already, chalk it out and have the courage to place it before the country so that the country and the Congress may apply their minds to it. Please also pull up the ears of the Sub-Committee specially

appointed at Lahore for this purpose, and ask it to prove its competence to chalk out a scheme. Please be more decent, reasonable and generous to those who differ from you in out-look."

In other respects also the session was a hopeless mess. The chairman of the reception committee, Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, was at pains to stress that the Pakistan resolution "did not run counter to the idea of India's political unity nor did it mean the vivisection of India." Mr. Jinnah on the other hand would have nothing short of separate "*independent* states in north west and eastern zones of India with full control over defence, finance, foreign affairs, communications, customs and currency and exchange." Above this Mr. Jinnah promises a 'Dravidistan' and a "Harijanistan." What a big political fraud! Or is it that one of the two persons does not know what he is talking about?

However there is nothing to despair. The League is daily losing ground. The whole edifice of the League is built on the sands of untruth and political chicanery. It must crumble down at the slightest jerk by the forces of national emancipation. With it would fall the masons of this building. Mr. Jinnah is old and infirm. He recently fainted while travelling to Madras. The doctors have advised him complete rest. We also advise him to have complete rest. Let him spare this unfortunate country and look to his health. That would be a real—and perhaps the only—service that he could do to all.

An important member of the British cabinet said that British Imperalism was dead. This is rather before time but none the less a pleasant portent. So there is nothing to despair. The future is bright, and out of the ashes of the burning phoenix of to-day shall rise an India—an Akhanda Bharat and Vishal Bharat. Amen.

THE END.

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